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MEMOIRS AND PAPERS

OF

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL, K.B.

A Votre Majesté

Le très Humble et très
Obeissant Serviteur
And.ᵉ Mitchell

A Tedelitz
ce 23 Octobre 1756

1681
.16

MEMOIRS AND PAPERS

OF

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL, K.B.,

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE COURT OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE COURT OF PRUSSIA, FROM 1756 TO 1771.

BY ANDREW BISSET,

OF LINCOLN'S INN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW, AND M.A. TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN TWO VOLS.

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PREFACE.

The labours of an Ambassador, whatever difficulty and danger, whatever importance, responsibility, and even dignity may belong to them, are from their nature necessarily so obscure, so unlike those of men whose deeds, being associated with eloquence and military glory, are "bruited" through the world, that the name of him to whose memory these pages are devoted, and who is considered by those who know what he did and was, as the greatest of English ambassadors, is so little known, that many have asked, or will ask, who was he who is thus highly estimated? And if they should be disposed to consider such an estimate as extravagant, "link'd with the unknown name of one whose doom has nought to do with glory," I can only refer them to the memorials contained in the following pages: for I feel how vain would be the attempt to supply what Fate has

denied, and to make a name glorious over which Fortune and Time have flung something of the veil that may one day shroud all things human. Nevertheless, I have done what little was in my power to raise a monument in the case both of Sir Andrew Mitchell and his friend Marshal Keith, to integrity and courage of the truest and purest metal, to great professional ability, embellished by modesty and associated with humanity, generosity, and honour. These qualities are not so common in the world that they should pass altogether unnoticed, when they are possessed by public men in so eminent a degree; and that, too, in an age when it was certainly something for any man in the midst of courts and camps to preserve his integrity of heart untainted.

The circumstance which first drew my attention to the life and character of Sir Andrew Mitchell, arose out of family connexion. My grandfather, besides being related to Mitchell himself, was the heir-at-law of his wife, from whom his Aberdeenshire estates came to him. There is also in my possession a MS. sketch [1]

[1] It is a mere outline, extending only to a few pages, and not altogether accurate. It was sent by Lord Glenbervie, in 1806, to a near relative of mine,

of his life, drawn up by a relative of mine, and I believe of his, the late Sylvester Douglas, Lord Glenbervie. I did not, however, concern myself much about him, or his sayings or doings, till about five or six years ago, when having occasion to examine some points of pedigree in connexion with my title as heir-at-law of one Topham Mitchell (of the same stock with Sir Andrew Mitchell) to certain estates, of which I had been deprived by the facilities which the present state of the law affords for wholesale pillage, I looked into some of the papers of Sir Andrew Mitchell. What I was first struck with was (the more unexpected in a diplomatist) the bold, blunt, straightforward character of the man. I then perceived that those qualities were accompanied by extraordinary tact and sagacity. Finding also that my own impression was more than borne out by the opinion of impartial judges, it seemed to me that there ought to be some published record of his services. There was, therefore, something of

for the purpose of being filled up, his Lordship having undertaken to make a selection of Sir Andrew Mitchell's papers for publication. The undertaking was abandoned in consequence of the wish of George III., that the papers should not be published during his life. There are three 4to MS. volumes in the British Museum of Lord Glenbervie's intended work. As far as I have looked into it, his Lordship appears to have proceeded on a plan totally different from that I have pursued in the following pages. Whether on a better or a worse, it would be improper for me to offer an opinion.

a duty to be performed on my part; and, as a great writer has said of a far greater undertaking than this, "I was also of opinion that if nobody appeared with higher qualifications to undertake the work, it was better it should be done imperfectly, better it should be done, even as I might be capable of doing it, than not done at all."[2]

One principal feature of the Mitchell papers is, that they furnish a narrative written on the spot, in camps and on battle-fields, of some of the most remarkable military operations that have ever been performed upon the world's stage. The writer of them narrates the operations in clear and simple language; and, like a man of sense as he was, abstains from all military criticism of his own. But as he enjoyed in a high degree the confidence and esteem of Frederic, he is frequently enabled to give that great soldier's criticism of his own operations, and occasionally of his own faults, as well as those of the enemy, so that the Papers possess some portion of the interest and value which would belong to dispatches written on the spot by one of the greatest commanders of ancient or modern times.

[2] Preface to Mill's History of British India, p. xix.

There is another point of view in which these papers will at the present moment be found to possess considerable interest. Frederic II. has been described by some writers as the founder (which he was not, though he brought it to perfection,) of that system of centralisation which has of late years given rise to so much discussion in this country, and which now prevails over the greater part of Europe. Under this system, say its advocates, everything is done by the simplest, the shortest, and the cheapest, in one word, by the best method; and they point to the administration of Frederic, as an example of what may be accomplished by it when carried to perfection. On the other hand, its opponents tell a very different story. They say that under this system all authorities, corporate or individual, which, under other forms of government must intervene between the central power and the people, lose, one after another, their legitimate importance, till there remains but a government on the one side, on the other a level herd of automata, with none of the higher moral or intellectual attributes of men; in short, that this kind of government crushes and brutalises every human soul, at least, certainly every human community subjected to

its operation. Of the arguments used in favour of this system the strongest appears to be that adopted by the French Economistes, that the people must be happier under the government of a wise despot or central power than under any other form ; because the wise despot (as the very terms necessarily imply such a conclusion) will have both the will and the power to govern them well. As the administration of Frederic II. of Prussia has, I believe, been sometimes cited as an example of this perfection of human government, I think it not unimportant to have the testimony on this subject of a witness of the character for veracity and intelligence of Sir Andrew Mitchell. In the Vth Chapter the character of the Prussian Government under Frederic II. is described ; and in the XVth Chapter, in particular, will be found abundant evidence how far the wise despotism and perfect centralisation of Frederic "the Great" had succeeded in promoting the well-being and happiness of his people.

However, amid such a mass of materials, it was necessary to make a selection, and I have thought it best, in regard to the more strictly official dispatches, to take chiefly such as throw light on the character of

Frederic, and Mitchell's mode of exercising his diplomatic functions towards him.

It remains to show that the papers here published come, as the lawyers say, out of the proper custody, in order to establish their authenticity.

Sir Andrew Mitchell, by his will, gave all his property, real and personal, (with the exception of some pecuniary and specific legacies), to Sir Arthur Forbes, Bart., of Craigievar and Fintray. In this gift were included all his papers; for at that time, whatever the law on the subject may be pronounced to be now, the papers of an ambassador were understood to be his own property, and not that of his Government. The reason is obvious. When the conduct of a public minister might involve the question of the loss of his head, he had strong grounds for retaining possession of the papers which alone could enable him to vindicate himself. I believe some alteration in the practice regarding this matter was introduced by George III.

In 1810, a negociation was entered into by the trustees of the British Museum, with Sir William Forbes, Bart., of Craigievar and Fintray, the son of Sir Arthur

Forbes, through Lord Glenbervie, then one of the trustees, for the purchase of the principal part of Sir Andrew Mitchell's papers, and the large collection now known among the MSS. in the British Museum as the "Mitchell Papers," was purchased for the sum of 400*l.* Immediately after, it being understood that George III. had expressed a wish that they might not see the light, *in a published form, during his own reign*, they were ordered to be locked up and entrusted to the care of Mr. Planta only. They are now bound up in sixty-eight volumes.

There is still, however, a very considerable quantity of Sir Andrew Mitchell's papers in the possession of Sir William Forbes, Bart., of Fintray and Craigievar, enough indeed to fill a large trunk. These have been recently examined and arranged, and from them and the collection in the British Museum, the selections in the present volumes have been made.

The official dispatches of Sir Andrew Mitchell in these volumes are printed from copies carefully made, compared, and revised, of the original drafts of those dispatches written in his letter books, mostly in the hand of Mr. Burnet, his Secretary, and signed by

Sir Andrew himself. The letters, not official, are printed from copies of rough drafts, mostly in Sir Andrew's own hand. Of the Journals, that of 1757 is in Sir Andrew's hand; that of 1758 in the hand of Mr. Burnet, his Secretary. As to the letters *to* Sir Andrew Mitchell, they are from the originals either in the British Museum or in the possession of his representatives. These papers (besides their intrinsic value) furnish ample materials for the study of the curious in handwriting. They contain the autographs of most of the remarkable persons of that time, particularly Statesmen and Generals, including two Kings, and the Great Duchess of Russia, afterwards the Empress Catherine, and her unfortunate husband. There is a great number of letters, making a thick volume, from the King of Prussia to Mitchell; some whole letters and many parts of others in his own hand; also, several very curious MSS., of some of his works. The MS. of the "Reflexions sur les talents militaires de Charles XII., Roy de Swede," in Frederic's own hand, is quite a curiosity. It consists of five quarto pages, extremely closely written, and in a very small neat hand, almost as if written with a crow quill. There are a good many alterations, the original word or

words being very carefully obliterated by the pen drawn through them several times. At the end is a curious specimen of the King's vanity and Latinity : "Finis Operi Federicum." There is a volume of letters to Mitchell from Prince Henry of Prussia, the King's brother, the General who, the King said, never committed a fault during the whole war ; likewise a volume from Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. These letters are almost all autographs. There are likewise many letters from Frederic's Generals and Marshals ; including a good many from Marshal Keith and his brother, the Earl Marischal of Scotland. There is also among the Mitchell Papers a large collection (forming a folio volume of considerable thickness) of letters from the Duke of Cumberland to Mitchell, all written in his own hand, and a very good hand it is, free, bold, and at the same time very legible. It has a considerable resemblance to Chatham's, of which these papers also contain a good many specimens ; as well as of the Duke of Newcastle, the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Earl of Holdernesse, the Earl of Bute, Lord Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon ; the Earls of Morton, Findlater, Granard ; the Lord President, Duncan Forbes, of Culloden ; Maclaurin, the celebrated mathematician ;

the well-known James Boswell, Dr. Birch, Dr. Blair, &c. &c.

The letters in these volumes, of a date previous to Mitchell's mission to Berlin, are almost all, with the exception of two or three from the Culloden Papers, published from the original MSS. at Fintray House in Aberdeenshire. Those of a subsequent date, are almost all published from the papers in the British Museum. I have, I believe, specified most of the exceptions, which consist of letters from Mitchell, of a less official nature, mostly in 1759, and are from the MSS. at Fintray House. The matter in these volumes, before published in the Culloden Papers, does not amount, in the whole, to much above ten pages, and this was published here for special reasons, which will be found stated in the proper place.

What seemed necessary to state respecting Sir Andrew Mitchell personally, I have stated as concisely as I could. I have also devoted one rather long chapter, (the last), to an account of two of his friends, the Earl Marischal of Scotland, and Field-Marshal James Keith; and to his journals and correspondence I have added foot-notes of explanation here and there. These

I might, of course, have easily made much more numerous and bulky. But the materials of much greater value than any notes of mine, that exist in such abundance in the Mitchell Papers, rendered it imperative on me to regard compression much more than expansion in my own lucubrations.

I must not conclude these few preliminary observations, without expressing my deep sense of obligation to Duncan Forbes Mitchell, Esq., of Thainston, for the very valuable assistance he has rendered me in this undertaking ; to the trustees of Sir William Forbes, Bt., of Fintray and Craigievar, for their kindness in placing at my disposal the large collection of Sir Andrew Mitchell's papers above referred to ; and likewise to the trustees of the British Museum, for their courtesy in affording me every facility of access to that large and valuable portion of Sir Andrew Mitchell's papers now in their custody.

May 22nd, 1850.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

CHAPTER I.

1708—1742.

PAGE

Mitchell's Birth and Early Life—His Marriage—Death of his Wife—Travels in Holland, France, and Italy—Letter from Colin Maclaurin—Called to the English Bar 1

CHAPTER II.

1742—1747.

Mitchell appointed Under-Secretary of State for Scotland—Letters from Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, &c., respecting the Rebellion of 1745—Sufferings of the Inhabitants of Aberdeenshire both from the Rebels and King's Forces—Mitchell's Circle of Friends, Thomson the Poet, John Forbes of Culloden, &c. 13

CHAPTER III.

His Election for the County of Aberdeen—A County Election in the North of Scotland immediately after the Rebellion of 1745 47

CHAPTER IV.

1752—1756.

The Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Morton, &c.—Correspondence in Connexion with the Appointment of Henry Home, Lord Kames, as one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland—Letters from the Earls of Essex, Findlater, and Granard—Mitchell returned for the Elgin District of Burghs, 1754—Appointed Envoy to Berlin, 1756 69

CHAPTER V.

PAGE

Causes of the Seven Years' War, and Character of Frederic II. of Prussia, and of the Prussian Government at that time 95

CHAPTER VI.

Mission to Berlin—Mitchell's Character as a Diplomatist—Frederic's Real Opinion of Mr. Pitt—Diplomatic Character of Sir Thomas Villiers (afterwards Lord Hyde and Earl of Clarendon), Mitchell's Predecessor at Berlin 136

CHAPTER VII.

Dispatches and Correspondence—Campaign of 1756—Epistolary Style of the Duke of Newcastle—Frederic's System as to Dispatches confided to his post-office—Count Finkenstein and Sir C. H. Williams—Letters from the King of Prussia to Mitchell—Anecdote of the Battle of Dettingen—Battle of Lobositz or Lowositz—Camp of Pirna . . 173

CHAPTER VIII.

Dispatches and Correspondence—Campaign of 1757—Battles of Prague, Kolin, Rosbach, and Leuthen 225

CHAPTER IX.

Journal, 1757 314

CHAPTER X.

Dispatches and Correspondence—Campaign of 1758—General Yorke's Mission to the King of Prussia—Invasion of Moravia—Siege of Olmutz —Battle of Zorndorff—Battle of Hochkirch—Siege of Dresden . . 387

MEMOIRS AND PAPERS.

MEMOIRS OF

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL, K. B.

CHAPTER I.

MITCHELL'S BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE — HIS MARRIAGE — DEATH OF HIS WIFE—TRAVELS IN HOLLAND, FRANCE, AND ITALY—LETTER FROM COLIN MACLAURIN—CALLED TO THE ENGLISH BAR.

1708—1742.

Andrew Mitchell was born in Edinburgh, on the 15th of April, 1708.[1] He was the only son (who lived

[1] There is a life of Sir Andrew Mitchell in Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary. It is erroneous in many particulars. There is also a life of him in the Biographic Universelle, which is very little more than a translation of that in Chalmers. I have in my possession a MS. outline of the Life of Sir Andrew Mitchell (which, though more correct than the above, is extremely meagre), accompanied by a letter from the late Lord Glenbervie (Sylvester Douglas) to a near relative of mine, dated December 11th, 1806, in which he says, "Being very desirous to collect what particulars I can concerning him and his father and wife's family, I have obtained this short and scanty account from Lord Malmesbury, who was his successor at Berlin. It may serve as a canvas for more detailed and interesting circumstances—and if you will add to it anything you yourself can recollect or may learn from others, I shall take it as a great favour. I have sent a copy to Sir William Forbes of Fintray and a few other persons with the same request."

The name of Lord Glenbervie occurring here, the same or a similar duty in his case as in that of Sir Andrew Mitchell compels me to do what in me lies that truth and justice should be observed towards the dead, and as I have heard it stated (the statement having most probably originated with some of those *scurræ* who wrote scurrilous lampoons against the administration of which he was a member) that Lord Glenbervie was descended from an illegitimate branch of the house of Douglas, I do not consider it impertinent to state here that Sylvester Douglas, Lord Glenbervie, was lineally and

to maturity[2]) of William Mitchell, one of the ministers of St. Giles's, commonly called the High Church of

legitimately descended from the Head of the House of Douglas, being the only son of John, 3rd son of Sylvester, who was the 2nd son of James Douglas, minister of Glenbervie, the 2nd son (his elder brother William became 9th Earl of Angus) of Sir Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, son and heir of Sir William Douglas, 2nd son of Archibald, 5th Earl of Angus, so well known as Archibald Bell the Cat, and whom Sir Walter Scott in Marmion has inaccurately styled—

> "That Douglas, *sixth* of yore,
> Who coronet of Angus bore." *

I am tempted to add here, that Sir Walter, with all his accurate antiquarian knowledge and great respect for the family of Douglas, has elsewhere (for instance in the Fair Maid of Perth) made strange confusion of the Douglas pedigree, which is set forth with admirable clearness in Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie's Peerage of Scotland, a work of extraordinary accuracy and corresponding authority. In that work the line of descent from Archibald Bell the Cat, 5th Earl of Angus to Sylvester Douglas, created an Irish Peer under the title of Lord Glenbervie, is clearly shown upon the proper evidence. I have said the "Head of the House of Douglas," because the Earls of Angus became such on the extinction of the Earls of Douglas by the forfeiture of James, 9th Earl of Douglas, in 1455, though it is somewhat curious that from the death of James, the 2nd Earl of Douglas, "the great chief of Otherburne," the Angus branch was the eldest *legitimate* branch. Sir James Douglas, the companion-in-arms and friend of Robert Bruce, known as the "Good Lord James," was succeeded as the Head of the House by his younger brother, Archibald, who left two children, William, 1st Earl of Douglas, and Eleanora, the wife, 1st of Edward Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and 2ndly of Sir James Sandilands, by whom she was ancestress of Lord Torphichen and the other branches of the Sandilands family. The "Good Lord James" was never married, but left two natural sons, Archibald, Lord of Galloway, and William, known as the Knight of Liddesdale. William, 1st Earl of Douglas, had two sons, born at an interval of thirty years. The eldest was James, 2nd Earl of Douglas, who fell at Otterburne. The younger, George, became Earl of Angus. And, as is supposed, in consequence of some entail made before the birth of the younger son, upon the death of James, the 2nd Earl of Douglas, he was succeeded as Earl of Douglas, not by his younger brother, but by Archibald the Grim, Lord of Galloway, who became 3rd Earl of Douglas, which earldom continued in his descendants till the year 1455, when the Earls of Angus became again the Head of their House, and were subsequently created Marquises and Dukes of Douglas. The Earls of Douglas had also been created Dukes of Touraine in France for their services in driving out the English.

[2] It appears from a journal or rather note-book kept by William Mitchell that he had another son, Hugh, who must have died in infancy or childhood.

* See Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, i. 439.

Edinburgh,[3] and one of the King's chaplains for Scotland, by his wife Margaret Cunningham, eldest daughter of Sir Hugh Cunningham of Craigends, the lineal descendant and representative of William Cunningham of Craigends, the second son of Alexander, first Earl of Glencairn, who obtained from his father the lands of Craigends, in 1477.[4] His father was of an Aberdeenshire family, being the son of Andrew Mitchell of Tilligrege, an estate in that county.

It appears, from family documents, that Sir Hugh Cunningham settled his estate, on failure of the issue of his son Alexander, upon his two daughters, namely, Mrs. Mitchell and Mrs. Smollet, equally.

Andrew Mitchell was married very young to his cousin Barbara Mitchell, daughter (and heiress) of Thomas Mitchell, of Thainston, in Aberdeenshire, by his wife Barbara, third daughter of Sir John Forbes, third Baronet of Monymusk, in that county.

As it was Andrew Mitchell who married the heiress of Thainston, and as his father in his journal speaks of him only as "my son," his son Hugh must have died very young; for Andrew Mitchell was under the age of twenty-one when this marriage was solemnised. The reason why the marriage ceremony was performed in this case so early, appears to have been this. The young heiress having been left unprotected by the

[3] In the journal above mentioned, he himself says, "1695, May 14th, I was ordained minister in the Canongate; 1708, June 27th, entered to the Old Kirk of Edinburgh."

[4] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 634; Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. i., p. 193.

death of her father in 1721, and an attempt having been made by violence to carry her off, it was judged the best course, in order to secure her against such attempts in future, to marry her to her cousin.[5] To judge from her picture, the young lady had other attractions besides those of the lands of Thainston and Beltie, being very handsome, with a hand and arm of surpassing beauty. Andrew Mitchell had by his wife an only child, Barbara. The mother appears to have died at or soon after the birth of her daughter, about 1728. The daughter, Barbara, was served heir to her mother, 18th May, 1728, and died an infant. The exact date of her death we have not been able to ascertain, but we find that Andrew Mitchell, her father, was served heir to her in 1741 (service, 5th June, 1741), and thus became possessed of the estates of that branch of the family, the law of Scotland not, like the law of England before the recent change, having a rule that land cannot ascend.

The anguish which the death of his wife caused to Mitchell, and the gloom which succeeded that anguish, appear to have influenced his future life. He aban-

[5] They were not first, or even, it is probable, second cousins. It may help to show the extreme difficulty that attends the investigation of complicated questions of pedigree, when it has to go back a considerable way, to state that the individuals whose initials are subscribed to this note, have never been able to ascertain completely the precise degree of cousinship that existed between Barbara Mitchell and her husband, and this, though one of them is the representative of the second son (upon whom the Mitchell estates in Aberdeenshire were entailed) of Sir Andrew Mitchell's executor and devisee, (Sir Arthur Forbes, Bart. of Craigievar), and the other has had to examine the pedigree minutely in connection with his claim to certain estates as the heir at law of a brother of Thomas Mitchell of Thainston. D. F. M. A. B.

doned the profession he was pursuing—the Scotch bar, and sought relief for his distracted mind in change of scene. He travelled first through a considerable part of Europe, and on his return he devoted himself for some years to the study of the English law, and afterwards engaged actively in public affairs. He never married again. He sought consolation for his irreparable loss in change of scene (for he never again resided in Scotland), in study and business, and in the toils and perils of a life which was destined to witness many a strange, turbulent, and eventful scene. The recollection of the calm sunshine of his early days, must have appeared to him like a beautiful but most melancholy dream; the "golden exhalations of the dawn" overcast with black and angry clouds, and followed by a thunder-storm, that left on his mind the scars of ineradicable sorrow.[6] There are many men, and Mitchell was among the number, who might truly say with Wallenstein—

> "Whatever fortunes wait my future toils,
> The *beautiful* is vanish'd, and returns not."

It appears from journals or note-books kept by him, and now in the possession of Sir Arthur Forbes's representative, that Mitchell visited the various towns of Holland and Belgium during the years 1730-31, and

[6] Mitchell died in 1771, forty-three years after the wife of his early youth. Perhaps he too might have had inscribed on his monument the epitaph on that of the Earl of Hertford in Salisbury Cathedral—"An affecting testimony" says Mr. Hallam—Const. Hist., vol. i., p. 173, n. "to the purity and faithfulness of an attachment, rendered still more sacred by misfortune and time. 'Quo desiderio veteres revocavit amores!'"

that in July of the latter year he reached Paris, where he appears to have remained till April 1732, when he left it in his route through Lyons to Italy. On the 6th of May he crossed Mount Cenis, and passed on through Milan to Venice; and happening to arrive immediately after the death of the Doge, he had an opportunity of seeing the ceremony of the marriage of his successor (Carlo Rugini) to the Adriatic. Leaving Venice in June, he visited the various cities of Lombardy, and gives an interesting account of several of them, particularly Bologna, with which he was much pleased. He left it in September for Florence. Towards the close of 1732 he arrived at Rome, where, with the exception of a short excursion to Naples, he remained till September 1734. On the 12th of September, 1734, he and his party left Rome, proceeding along the shore of the Adriatic, by Bologna to Parma, which he reached in time to see the close of the action fought by the Germans under Count Marsi, and the French near the walls of the town. He proceeded on to Genoa, and from thence by sea to Toulon, and by Marseilles to Paris, which he reached in February 1735. He remained there some time, enjoying the society of Montesquieu, whose friendship he retained to the last. There is abundant evidence in Mitchell's correspondence that he made a good use of the early opportunities he enjoyed to form a far more than superficial, and a far other than a pedant's acquaintance both with books and men, with the best books of all times, and with some of the best and most distinguished men of his own time.

The following letter from Colin MacLaurin the eminent mathematician, and then professor of mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, (of whom Mitchell had been a pupil), was written soon after Mitchell's return to England, and is inserted both as a letter worth reading in itself, and as throwing light on Mitchell's character at that time.

Edinburgh, 18*th November*, 1735.

Dear Sir,

It is with peculiar delight that I received your letter, and it was with great pleasure that I have often heard such mention made of you by several persons of worth, since you left this, as one would wish always to hear of their friends. I spent some days, both in March and October last, with the ———[7] family. On both occasions there was often talk of you in that way I should be much pleased to imagine friends at a distance would speak of me. There is a melancholy pleasure in it, but it is a pleasure in speaking of friends whom we like, and who deserve to be liked when at a great distance, and when perhaps we can propose little of new society with them in this world. Sometimes when in a melancholy, but good-natured mood, I think a presumption, for I can scarce call it an argument, may be drawn from this for some future state where our best affections will not be so often frustrated, and distance of space will have perhaps little or no effect to obstruct their satisfaction. I have been the rather led

[7] Name obliterated.

to this way of thinking, that it has been my fate to pass my time far from some of those in whom I have had the entirest confidence, and greatest delight. But I am falling into philosophy instead of congratulating you on your safe arrival in this island. I shall say no more in this strain, but that I find it true, though it is a paradox, that one is often near to those that are farthest from him, and absent from those that are continually about him, whose proximity many times is only made sensible by the uneasiness they occasion. Your letter came to me when wholly taken up with some tedious and troublesome inquiries and calculations that have of late employed my time; and I laid it by till I could find a moment of leisure and quiet for to converse with you. The last vacation has been a time of as much study and occupation to me as a session used to be. Now I am plunged into my usual hurry again, but I have filtched an opportunity to salute you, and to express my earnest and sincere wish for your success in everything that is for your good. I many times thought of writing to you to Italy, but I was discouraged when I was going to set about it, from the barrenness of the materials I had to write. To a man who was conversant with the statues and remains of ancient heroes, and what was left of the first scene has appeared on the stage of this world, what could I say from this place? Could politics about any petty office here, or even an election of magistrates, or a choice of a Lord of Session, have been relished by a man full of the greatness of ancient Rome, and tracing its vestiges? Could the

advancement of a Smith, or the deposition of an Ebenezer, be attended to by a man who lived at modern Rome, and had the Roman Pontiff in his eye? What a figure would the news of the amours, successful or unsuccessful, of the boys or girls of our assembly have made in the eye of a man who passed the Carnival at Venice? In such things to have talked to you of this country would have been trifling. But now you are nearer us, and chit-chat that would not bear passing the seas and the Alps may perhaps not be altogether so contemptible to you. My knowledge of them is not the latest, but in this and everything else you may command me. But is it not to be complained of that when everybody expected you here, as you came nearer, you gave us now more reason than ever to think you are to be a stranger to us for life? You say your inclination and way of thinking have undergone a change almost in everything, against the old saying "*cælum non animum mutant.*" I thought them good formerly, as I remember, and doubt not I should think them better. However, as you say, you are to take a year to try them. I fear George Warrender and you help each other to lose the natural passion for your country, but I shall not wish you the Swiss disease. But should you change, no body will be more glad to see you here. The greatest changes in my state consist chiefly in a wife, whom I think agreeable, and a diverting boy. I have a girl too, since Tuesday last, but I have not the least acquaintance with her as yet. I believe the boy is the more agreeable to me, that he has already taken

a greater liking to me than any other in the house, and we are already so good friends that he cannot be taken from me without crying; so much for domestick affairs. Those of other kinds are much as they were formerly. A new theorem or problem is still one of my greatest ragouts, and I study rather more than formerly, because I am more at home, and less exposed to idle company. I am seldom abroad at night. I never deal in politicks, live very retired in the summer time, and endeavour to improve a little the study, that is my profession, as well as to teach it; but whether it be from a great desire to do so right, or any improvement of my own taste, can very hardly get myself to be satisfied with what I do so far as to be willing to publish it. My great ambition is to get some private retirement of my own for the summer, having sold one I had, it being too distant, having a bad house upon it, and other inconveniences. Sometimes an inclination recurs for bustling a little; for having some influence to serve a friend, and so forth; but I am very willing to be quiet, and to leave my name in my own way without making more din. Thus, you see, I have fully and frankly told you my affairs, news, and desires. At your leisure I have a little curiosity to know your changed inclinations and ways of thinking, as far as you think proper to communicate them. But from what I knew of you before your changes, and have heard since from our friends at Millerstanes, who have a great regard for you, I am in hopes they will be good for yourself and friends.

I would now recollect some of our towns-talk for

you, but this is my busiest time, and I know little of what is passing. There has been a noise at Synod and Commission about a new edition of the Westminster Catechism with alterations, which have been condemned. Our Principal brought in the affair. Some of the young clergy, with Mr. D——s to lead them, opposed bringing it in, but they had no other satisfaction than to say some bitter things against the P—— C——. One told the Synod his view was only to revive a dying popularity. There was, however, but ten or twelve opposed passing a sentence, and did not vote on it. An adulterer refused to do penance in sackcloth and ashes, and was excused by the Presbytery of Dalkeith. The elders appealed to the Synod, and they also excused him,[8] but it will probably be decided by the National Assembly. You see what sort of matters occupy our folks' time and warm their heads. One Blaikie refuses to give up a presentation from the King to a parish where nobody is for him. This is to produce a memorial to his Majesty from the Church. 'Tis a pity; Georgia wants people to cultivate it, and the balance of power to preserve it. My sincere wishes for Mr. Warrender, who will hear from me in another strain. This with all freedom and affection from

COLIN MAC LAURIN.

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ.

No. 14, *Paper Buildings, King's Bench Walk, Inner Temple, London.*

[8] This instance of a greater tendency to mildness of discipline manifested by the Presbyterian clergy than by the Presbyterian laity of Scotland is the more worth remarking, that the body in question have had their full credit for the cultivation of an extremely rigid, narrow, and illiberal religious spirit.

It appears from the books of the Middle Temple that Mitchell became a member of the Middle Temple on the 19th of January, 1733, and was called to the Bar on the 12th of May, 1738. The following is a transcript of the entry in those books :—

"Andrew Mitchell, son of the Rev. William Mitchell, late of the City of Edinburgh,

"Admitted of the Middle Temple, 19th January, 1733.

"Called to the Bar, 12th May, 1738."

It also appears from a collection of Notes of Cases, beginning Trin. Term. 8th George II., taken by him in the Court of King's Bench, in the possession of Sir Arthur Forbes's representative, that soon after his return to England, Mitchell studied English law in good earnest, and with a view to practise. That he had at a former period studied Scotch law appears from Notes on Sir Thomas Craig *de Feudis*, and on Sir George Mackenzie's Institutions of the Law of Scotland. That he did not, however, altogether neglect other studies may be inferred from notes on some of Cicero's philosophical works, as his Questiones Tusculanæ, his books de finibus, de naturâ deorum, de divinatione, de fato, de legibus, &c. ; on the Histories of England, Germany, France, and religious orders ; on the science of morals ; on Roman coins ; on antiquities, epic poetry, statues, engravings, and other subjects ; accounts of the East India Company, South Sea Company and Bank ; as well as from his admission to the Royal Society, the certificate of which bears date, 4th March, 1735-6.

CHAPTER II.

MITCHELL APPOINTED UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND—LETTERS FROM DUNCAN FORBES, OF CULLODEN, &c., RESPECTING THE REBELLION OF 1745—SUFFERINGS OF THE INHABITANTS OF ABERDEENSHIRE BOTH FROM THE REBELS AND KING'S FORCES.—MITCHELL'S CIRCLE OF FRIENDS, THOMSON THE POET, JOHN FORBES, OF CULLODEN, &c.

1742—1747.

In 1742 the office of principal Secretary of State for Scotland was conferred upon the Marquis of Tweeddale,[9] who appointed Mitchell under-secretary. We give here the following letters to Mitchell from his excellent friend, the Right Honourable Duncan Forbes, of Culloden, the Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland, as throwing light both upon the circumstances under which the appointment was conferred and the nature of the duties connected with it; although

[9] John Hay, fourth Marquis of Tweeddale. He married Lady Frances Carteret, daughter of the well-known statesman and accomplished scholar, John, Earl of Granville. The Earl of Morton in a letter to Mitchell, of the 18th of August, 1749, says, "I saw your Marquis and his lady at Yester. It is a noble house, and the lady seems mightily pleased with it and with the country. She is very merry and easy, and sang Greek, French, and Scotch songs to me." This lady survived her husband many years, and gave directions to be buried as near to him as possible, with her wedding ring on her finger, and his letters to her in the coffin with her. She left her large personal property to her grand-daughter, Frances Hay. The reader will find an interesting account of a vaulted hall, called the Goblin Hall, under the ancient castle of Gifford, or Yester, in one of the notes (Note III.) to Canto III. of Sir Walter Scott's Marmion.

they have already appeared in the Culloden Papers. The Culloden Papers are stated to have been published from the originals in the possession of Duncan George Forbes, of Culloden, Esq. But the originals of these and of other letters (published in the Culloden Papers) from the Lord President to Mitchell, actually sent and received, are among the Mitchell Papers. The editor of the Culloden Papers may probably mean the original drafts, which, in a certain sense, may be correctly termed originals also; in which sense indeed many, nay, most of the letters and dispatches in the present publication, are said to be published from the originals.

Dear Sir,

I should have returned an answer to yours of the 18th March sooner, but that I waitte to be determined as to the journey which you expected I should take, by the resolutions of my brother Arneston, which being fixed against travalling[1] have left me no party to choise[2] but that of staying at home, as I had no great confidence that our joint labours could have done much service to the publick at this time, and far less that my presence without him could have done any.

The situation, in which you at present are, which is owing to your own character as well as to the good judgment and good will of my Lord Marquis, gives me

[1] *Sic.*—We must recollect the spelling had not then been settled; and Johnson says, that travel is generally supposed originally the same with travail, from the French *travailler*.

[2] Choose—choiser—the Scotch form of the word.

a great deal of satisfaction. I am pleased on your account, because it will give you an opportunity to exert your talents and to do good ; and I am pleased on the Marquis's, because that act, which was amongst the first of his administration, has been attended with universal approbation, and is an earnest that he will act with disinterested views, and make use of disinterested persons, to carry on the public service. As to advice, which you seem to wish from me, it is quite useless, because you have a very faithful and a much more intimate monitor at home, your heart, which must, by the goodness of the master you serve, be disposed to render him every honest piece of service he can claim, and I am very hopefull from the opinion I have of him, that the Marquis will expect none other from you. The late accident which you mention is unlucky, and I lament it chiefly, as it must necessarily be attended with some sourness between persons whom I most earnestly wished to see living and acting in perfect harmony. But these differences cannot possibly affect you with this person whom you are pleased to call my friend, who must expect to see you discharge the trust you have undertaken with care and fidelity, if he has the same opinion of you as I have. Toutching the expectations you entertained of my being usefull to quiet riseing animosities, and perhaps to prevail with some persons to lay them aside, I cannot very well tell now, for I might or might not have been of use had I been early with you ; but, as things are at present, I am afrayed the coal is too hot to be touched, and I have

frequently seen that medling with it in that condition makes it blaze the more. The end of the session will give men time to cool, and if nothing is done to irritate or provoke of either side, which I pray and hope may be the case, nothing shall be wanting on my side, to dispose, such as will in any degree be influenced by my opinion, to that union which I wish may prevail. I have wrote to the Marquis by this post signifying my present purpose of remaining in this country. I hope he will approve of my reasons, and if he should be too much hurryed to find time to let me know so much, that you will.

I am, my dear Andrew, your's,

DUN. FORBES.

Stony-hill, 1st April, 1742.

DEAR SIR,

The concern which you show for John, and the care you have lately taken to prevent my being affected with the reports that prevailed of the suffering of the Blue regiment, in the action on the Main, are fresh proofs of (what I never doubted) your goodwill for me, and claim at least this return, to let you know that, by a letter which the last Saturday's post brought me from the young gentleman himself, it appears he has had no harm, and that he has been well diverted with the scene, which to him was undoubtedly a novelty. I am, as every honest Britton must be, greatly pleased with the success of his first encounter, and entertain strong

hopes, that as it happened at a very criticall conjuncture, it may be so managed as to put an end to the troubles which have lately affected Germany, and threatened all Europe, without much more expense of blood or treasure.

As the only use of this note is to signify to you the sense I have of your kindness for John and me, I will mix nothing else with it. Its possible that in a few days you may hear from me, on a very melancholy subject, the state of the revenues, and of the trade and manufactures of this poor country, which are at present in a ruinous condition.

I am, my dear Andrew, perfectly yours,

DUN. FORBES.

Edinburgh, 5th July, 1743.

Among the Mitchell Papers are several letters from the Marquis of Tweeddale to Mitchell, but as they contain nothing either of much importance or interest, we insert only one.

From the Marquis of Tweeddale to Mr. Mitchell.

Yester, September 16th, 1742.

SIR,

Having just now leisure, I embrace itt, and acknowledge the receipt of all your letters. I have nothing else att present to write to you from this corner of the island. Your friend Sir Robert Hay was here this day, and I think Mr. Paterson will be a greatt

favourite there. I begin to be apprehensive I shall gett no private business done in this place, tho' I am taking all the pains I can to prevent strangers coming here, as in truth upon several accounts I was never worse situated for receiving visits here than I am att present. I propose going into Edinburgh next week, to prevent people's coming here; and I believe I shall call att Arnistoun's in my way to town, he having wrott to me this day he was nott in condition to come here. The accounts you write to me concerning the siege att Prague are different from whatt was expected when I left London. As I shall be very impatient to hear how matters are going, I must desire you to continue to lett me hear whatt news you can pick up, for unless something very material happens, I don't expect to hear from others att this distance.

Since you have seen the Duke of Newcastle, I wonder you don't lett me know how your negotiation about your lodging in the office is ended.

I have nothing further to add at present, butt to assure you thatt I have a very greatt regard for you.

I am, dear Mitchell, sincerely yours,

TWEEDDALE.

The following letter, though it has already appeared in the Culloden Papers, is now published from the original in the Mitchell Papers; and its appearance here scarcely needs an apology, as it is necessary both to show the business in which Mitchell was then

occupied, and to give some idea of the great services of the Lord President to his country for which he and his were so ill requited.

Culloden, 13th November, 1745.

My dear Andrew,

I am mortally tired with writing a letter to the Marquis of an immoderate length, and in a hand so like Arabick that I doubt your help will be wanted to decypher it. But it was impossible to make it shorter, and I am but a bad scribe; besides that I have much more business on my hands at present to disturb my attention than I should have had if the rebells had permitted me to go threw the course of the Session at Edinburgh. When I came first into this country, tho' I was not just treading in the path of a Chief Justice, the prospect was very flattering, and the errand I came on had no appearance of difficulty; but the rebells' successes at Edinburgh and Prestonpans soon changed the scene. All Jacobites, how prudent so ever, became mad; all doubtfull people became Jacobites, and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked of nothing but of hereditary rights and victory; and what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and, if you will believe me, much more mischievous to the publick, all the fine ladys, if you will, except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner. Under these circumstances I found myself almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credite,

provided with no means to prevent extream folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation, and, if you will except Macleod, whom I sent for from the Isle of Sky, supported by no body of common sense or courage. Had arms and money came when they were first called for, before these unexpected successes blew up folly into madness, I would have answered it with my head that no man from the North should have joined the originall flock of rebells that crossed the Forth; and even as it has happened, it is no small consolation to me that, except Macpherson of Cluny, whose force does not exceed 300, none from the North have reached them in time to march allong with them southward from Edinburgh; that no more than about 200 of the *Clanchattan* have marched, who had got as last Saturday no further than Perth, and that notwithstanding the restless endeavours of the Earl of Cromerty, the Master of Lovat and others, no more than 150 or 160 of the Mackenzies have been debauched, and that even those have not as yet passed the Corryareck,—no more than the Frasers, who, to the number of 500 or 600, have flocked to arms, and who possibly may think better, if the weather permit the force which we hourly expect from the Isle of Sky to join us quickly, before they leave their country exposed. By this diversion His Majesty's army will have a much smaller body of Highlanders to deal with to the southward than otherways they should have had; and if a small number of troops could be spared from it, to take possession of Edinburgh, and to secure

the foords of the Forth, as, on the one hand, the small numbers of Highlanders that are marching towards Edinburgh could not join their brethren; so, on the other, the retreat of these that have marched towards England would be cut off. But this, if practicable, has doubtless been done before this time. As to the Independent companies, I have disposed of such of them as are hitherto given, with the greatest discretion I was master of, following this rule, to bestow them on such as could be trusted, and could the most quickly bring the men together for the service. I shall have a dozen of them together soon, and some more in a little time; and in this operation I should have succeeded better but for the folly and roguery of mankind, which finds many ways of exerting itself. You will naturally observe that the cutting off the communication with the rest of Scotland confined the nomination of the officers of those companys to the North. E.[3] Loudon's arrivall has been a vast relief to me. His skill and dilligence, joined to patience, and a very obliging behaviour, must be of very great service to the publick at this juncture, when those talents are so much wanted and so scarce. As I am pretty much fatigued with wielding the pen, give me leave to conclude; but, before I do so, to put you in mind that I have hardly seen a common London print for a month, that I know nothing of what is or has been doing in the world for these three months past, and that anything that you may be pleased to entertain me with in my Lord

[3] The Earl of Loudon's.

Marquises packet will come probably safe. I daresay you will put his Lordship in mind of dispatching what in mine is suggested, if he should stand in need of a monitor, which I am confident he will not.

I am, my dear Andrew, truely yours,

DUN. FORBES.

Among the Mitchell Papers at Fintray House, are several letters, containing some curious particulars relating to the Rebellion, which, though the subject is somewhat threadbare, will, we believe, be found new.

In a letter dated Achwithy, 15th August, 1746, Mitchell's factor (the name in Scotland for land-steward) gives a very curious and interesting account of the sufferings of his tenantry (in common with the rest of the inhabitants) in Aberdeenshire, from the oppressions and depredations of both sides, friends and foes, rebels and King's forces.

After stating the particulars of the assessments levied by the rebels on Mitchell's estates of Thainston (then spelt Thainstown) and Beltie, which was at the rate of a man or 5*l.* sterling for every 100*l.* Scots valued rent, for which the tenants insisted on an allowance in their rent, the factor, Mr. Dawney, thus proceeds :—

"As to damages from the King's forces, these are not so easily compensated, though in this way your tenants in Beltie have suffered nothing, excepting in common with the whole country, by the hardship of foraging the army, and the impositions and fraudulence of the

commissary in that article. But at Thainstown the tenants have been, and are, exposed to daily hardships from the troops of stragglers, belonging to and following the army; their vicinity to Inverury, the first stage from Aberdeen to Inverness, exposes them frequently to have soldiers, &c., quartered upon them, and even when that does not happen, these passengers are ever running into the tenants' houses, eat up, and often carry away whatever they find usefull or convenient for them, and what can be easyly transported, and frequently force their horses to carry baggage, *wifes*, children, or perhaps sick men, &c.

"In a word, there 's no discipline used, nor dare any one complain of hardship; all, all are rebells, and nothing too hard can be done.

"These are things justly complained of by the tenants, whereof no computation can be made or reparation expected.

"You bid me tell you what I know of the sufferings of this county and neighbourhood from the King's forces. I can, indeed, remember, or contain within the bounds of a letter, a very few of the most glaring things. On their comeing to Aberdeen, there was a very early and conspicuous example sett for the army at the head-quarters, in the riffling of Mr. Gordon, Hallheads, all the valuable things. This example soon produced its effect, and had due influence on many of inferior rank in the army; great freedoms were used in many many places, nor was there *allwisse* great nicety used in distinguishing between friend and foe; to do no more

than live on free quarters was thought high marks of favour, even from officers of high rank; pillaging, pilfering, and driving was the work of sentinells, subalterns, often construed in such a way that there 's no fixing of the guilt, tho' one has a just action for damages; for example, a party issues forth, perhaps composed of a mixed band, picked out of different companies or regiments, or that have associated themselves, God knows how, and are commanded by God knows whom; they plunder a man's house, drive away his chattels and effects, sell or somehow dispose of the same, nobody dare ask their names, or commission, or what regiment they belong to, nor who gave orders.

"The churchyard, and other places, were kept full of chattels while the army lay at Aberdeen; they held public roups[4] of them, and eat, and disposed of them as they pleased; they seemed to be the property of the whole army, and nobody durst enquire or could procure knowledge of their injuries.

"After the battle of Culloden, some of our military rulers went the length of raising fire even in this neighbourhood (for I do not meddle with the Highlands, where we 're told has been burnings, butcheries, &c., that neither may be mentioned, nor get credit where you live), neither did they confine themselves to nonjuring meeting-houses, nor even to the houses of rebells (of this sort, Blelacks[5] and Auchenhove houses were burnt down), but also the house of Moualtrie,[6] life

[4] Auctions.

[5] Both in the district of Cromar in Aberdeenshire.

[6] Near Ballater.

rented by a widow lady, the mother of him who is prisoner, and who himself did not live in that house. Campfield Burnett[7] his house also was burnt down, with his whole farm, meal, and other things, either burned or pillaged, though the honest man has all his life time lived quietly and inoffensively, without giving disturbance to any mortall; his son, indeed, who is now upon his tryall, lived in that house as baseman only, for he never was infeft.

"I think these are the only burnings in this county of any note, unless I mention to you the fate of an unhappy brother of my own, who lived upon a farm within five miles of Aberdeen; he unfortunately and very rashly joined himself volunteer to the army commanded by Lord Lewis Gordon, on their march to Inverury the same day the skirmish happened at that place, not that he was incorporated in any corps, or had command, or was under command, but it seems he took in his head to putt in for a share of the dangers and glory of that day, and, unluckily for him, his part of the work was making the Laird of Echt prisoner; his being so far dypt obliged him to follow, and share in the fortunes of that army while it subsisted, but, as I have said, without being ever regimented. While the King's army lay at Aberdeen, Echt, now escaped from confinement, took care to mind my brother's favours, and accordingly procured a party to be sent, which drove all his chattels to Aberdeen, where at a roup of

[7] Campfield Burnett, *i.e.* Burnett of Campfield.

them an other brother of mine purchased, for about half price, as many of the labouring chattels (the sheep, horses, and others disposed of before that time) as were sufficient to labour the possession for that season, and which he restored to his sister-in-law for that purpose. Some time after the battle, another party carries off some of the chattels, but were prevailed on to restore them on getting a piece of money. My sister-in-law, thinking there would be no end of this, went to Lord Ancrum,[8] our then Governour, asking a protection, but, instead of obtaining her suit, there was instantly a party ordered off privately, by whom, ere she gott home, the whole town,[9] houses, and effects were laid in ashes, but still worse, her unhappy husband fell into their hands next day, and now waits his triall at Carlisle.

"I have, without thinking, spun out my story in the enclosed to such length that I have not minded to end it with my paper. I shall not now presume to detain you any longer than to assure you that I remain with sincere regard and esteem, Sir,

"Your most ob. humble st.

"Fran. Dawney."

[8] Earl of Ancrum—William Henry Kerr, eldest son of William, third Marquis of Lothian. He was lieutenant-colonel of the 11th Dragoons, Lord Mark Kerr's, 1745. He commanded the cavalry on the left wing at the battle of Culloden, where his brother, Lord Robert Kerr, captain of the grenadier company of Barrell's foot, fell. After that victory he had the command of the forces at Aberdeen.

[9] The term in Scotland for the farm buildings, &c.

From George Burnet,[1] *Esq., of Kemnay, to Mr. Mitchell.*

1*st September*, 1746.

Dear Sir,

I wrote you about three weeks ago, giving you a full account of the disorder that happened on the 1st August, at Aberdeen; as I pressed there much to hear from you soon, I fancy you have either been out of town, or I must account for it by my letter having undergone the fate that some others did. As I fancy you may have heard of their affairs its scarce worth while to mention them now, if it were not that one comes to know the truth more exactly than at first, when there has been some time for examination.

On the forenoon of 1st August Lord Ancrum sent for the town-clerk, and told him he was resolved to observe the accession of this family, and desired he might acquaint the magistrates to have ringing of bells, illuminations, and all other public demonstrations of joy, of which the magistrates being acquainted set the bells ringing, but resolved to give no order about illuminating, in regard the poor inhabitants were already brought to an intollerable expense in that article, being forced to it in the winter every time the rebels took it in their heads; but neither this resolution not to comply, nor the reasons of refusal were carried back to my Lord

[1] This was the father of Alexander Burnet, Esq., who was Mitchell's secretary at Berlin from his first appointment, in 1756, to the time of his death in 1771.

Ancrum, chiefly because the clerk was afraid to carry any message but what was agreeable, knowing his impatience at the smallest contradiction, and the violent transports of rage he was apt to run into.

Few in the town knew what had been demanded or refused, till they were surprised at hearing the noise in the streets, and having their windows broke about their ears by the soldiers, which was often done with such stones as hurt many much, and endangered many lives, and put many in fear of them. In some houses not one *pane* was left, in others much damage to mirrors and furniture, but this in low shops where those things were kept, and sold, and all this mischief was done promiscuously without regard to party or distinction. They began with the Council-house windows, though just beside the main guard, who never offered to restrain, nor did Lord Ancrum, who, with most of the officers, were in the same street, give any check to it, till after most of the mischief was over, and on a false report that was brought him of an acquaintance being killed, then he sent a party of the guard who only quieted the soldiers but did not take any of them into custody, nor was the least appearance of any displeasure shown by their officers, which did not surprise the townspeople, as they neither did, nor do question, but they were set on by their Principals, and the more as the rioters were headed by Captain Morgan in disguise, in the highest intimacy and favour with them, and whose presence with his friends on such a night would scarce have been dispensed with but for some service

of importance. Next day, the magistrates, on proof of Morgan's being at the head of the riot, went to Lord Ancrum and Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, who commands the Flemings, of which Morgan was, and demanded him, upon which those two officers in many things very similar, fell into a great deal of abuse, and ridiculous behaviour, of which I need only tell you that the latter called them Jacobites, (a term these liverymen are apt to apply to all who do not chime in with everything their humour dictates), threatened to commit the Dean of Guild; said he would show them there was no law now but military law. Upon which the magistrates ordered their officers to take Morgan into custody, and carry him to the common jail, unless he found 500*l.* bail—which at last he did, and then the magistrates wrote Mr. Maule, the D. of Argyle, the Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Albymarle, and God knows how many. The affair is yet carried no farther as to Morgan. They had a letter from Albymarle very little satisfactory, called the affair trifling, seemed to blame the magistrates for not complying in illuminating; but in a second he talks a little differently, and by a letter from the Justice Clerk they are desired to wait untill Albymarle comes to Edinburgh, where he is some time ago. I know of nothing since. I think they should have proceeded themselves, without complaining to any. The laws allready are sufficient to do them justice if they have spirit to put them in execution.

* * * * *

Pray write me the news as to what is going on with

respect to things abroad; so many things are doing and resolving with respect to this country. Is it thought there will be a second Bill of Attainder? I see another indemnity has passed for those in his Majesty's service. The officers burnt J. Burnett's Campfield's father's house, pillaged his furniture, farm, meal, &c., though the father always behaved as a good subject, and the son had only lived in the house a tenant at will. Will there not be recourse for damages notwithstanding the last indemnity? Do you think there will be any hopes for J. Burnett's life?

I am ever warmly yours, &c.,

G. B.

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ.

From Mr. Francis Dawney (Mitchell's factor) to Andrew Mitchell, Esq., at the Cock Pitt,[2] *London.*

SIR,

In my last I told you in what manner the Abdn. Governours had disposed of your *Meal farms of crop*,[3] 1745, and desired to know if you incline that I should call for and receive the price they are pleased to give, which is 10 merks per boll. I dont choose to appear or talk to them on this affair till such time as I know

[2] Mitchell's letters are usually addressed about this time "Andrew Mitchell, Esq., Under Secretary of State, at the Marquis of Tweeddale's Office, Whitehall, London," (sometimes "Deputy Secretary of State, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, London,") where he appears to have resided till the final abolition of the office of Secretary of State for Scotland in 1746.

[3] Rents were then paid partly in kind.

how you intend to observe their arbitrary proceedings, so I wish you would be pleased to tell me how I'm to deal with them, for I would incline to be in town about the end of this *moneth*,[4] in order to remitt what money of your's I can scrape together, being quite ashamed of my incapacity to do any thing that way sooner. I shall likewise transmit a copy of my accompts for crop 1744, which yet must contain, contrary to my inclination, a large loss of arrears.

I understand that some of our gentlemen in this Shire have transmitted to Mr. John Maule,[5] (as the county member happens not to be in London) a representation of their sufferings during the last ten months particularly showing the hardship of being obliged to pay the Cess a second time (3 qrs. of a year's Cess,) being they were forced by parlying and threats of military execution, to pay it once already at a time when they were quite defenceless and had no protection.

I am solicite by some of the gentlemen to write you of this, as they believe that if you was pleased to join issue with Mr. Maule, it might be of great use in procuring some abatements at least in the article of the Cess. This is the meaning of the gentlemen, and which I did not care to refuse to acquaint you off. I dont pretend to know how farr its proper to attempt, or what

[4] *Sic.*—month.

[5] At that time M.P. for the boroughs of Aberdeen, Montrose, Brechin, Inverbervie, and Aberbrothock, (Arbroath). He was the son of Harry Maule, Lord Brechin, eldest son of James, Earl of Panmure in Scotland, who being concerned in the Rebellion, 1715, was attainted; and his elder brother, William, was created Earl of Panmure in Ireland. He was made a Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland in 1748.

reason there may be to expect any favour from Government in this way. I shall only say that this poor country has been terribly oppressed, and is at present in very pityfull circumstances: this, I believe, is the strongest argument to determine your endeavour for its relief providing its judged proper to use any.

If I had thought you selfish I would have represented your own sufferings as equal to that of any in the neighbourhood, for I was obliged to pay away three quarters Cess for your lands, and your tenants paid what was called militia money 5*l.* st. for each 200*l.* Scots of valued rent, of this the tenants expect allowance in their rents, as some masters indeed have done. I give them no assurance to this, but that it will be time enough to plead that when their rents are all paid up to that sum, indeed they pay very ill, but it must be confessed that the tenants, at least at Thainstown, have been sadly harrassed.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your most ob. humble sert.,

FRAN. DAWNEY.

Achwithy, 9th June, 1747.

Although of nearly the same political opinion as his friend Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the Lord President of the Court of Session, and consequently most thoroughly opposed to all the views of the Jacobites, Mitchell appears to have felt keenly the evils inflicted upon his

country by the rigour which it was judged necessary to use *after* the Rebellion was crushed. Some of his correspondence with the Lord President on this subject has already been published. In the death-bed scene which has been described by John Forbes, the son of the President, the excellent old man, broken in health and heart by the treatment he had met with from the Government, in return for all his invaluable services, specially recommended his son and only child to Mitchell; and, as will appear from some letters in the present publication, Mitchell was not unmindful of the trust confided to him. The following short letter from the Lord President addressed to his son, without date, but evidently written very shortly before his death, Mr. Burton says in November, 1747, was a few years since discovered, and is published by Mr. Burton in his Life of Duncan Forbes, from the MS. at Culloden House.

Dear John,

I am very sorry for you. The great charges and expenses I have been at in supporting his Majesty in the Rebellion, have far exceeded the sum I thought it would have cost when I saw you last. I would advise you to go to London, where I believe I may have some friends yet. Mr. Scroop,[6] Mr. Littleton, and Mitchell are kind-hearted, affectionate men, and they will tell

[6] John Scrope, Esq., M.P. for Lyme Regis and Joint-Secretary to the Treasury; he died in the beginning of 1753.

the King that his faithful servant, Duncan Forbes, has left you a very poor man. Farewell, may the God of heaven and earth bless you.

DUN. FORBES.

John Forbes preserved the following memorandum of his last interview with his father.

"*Edinburgh*, 10*th Dec.* 1747.

"My father entered into the everlasting life of God, trusting, hoping, and believing through the blood of Christ, eternal life and happiness. When I first saw my father upon the bed of death, his blessing and prayer to me was, 'My dear John, you have just come in time to see your poor father die. May the great God of heaven and earth ever bless and preserve you! You have come to a very poor fortune, partly by my own extravagance and the oppression of power. I am sure you will forgive me, because what I did was with a good intention. I know you to be an honest-hearted lad. Andrew Mitchell loves you affectionately; he will advise you and do what he can for you. I depend upon Scroop too, which you may let him know. I will advise you never to think of coming into Parliament.'"

He died on the 10th of December, 1747, leaving behind him, to borrow the words of an illustrious countryman, "a name endeared even in those days of strife and bitterness, to enemies as to friends, and doubly to be honoured by posterity for that impartiality

which uniformly distinguished between the cause of the country and political party."[7] Five years after his death, "his fellow lawyers," observes Mr. Burton, "erected a statue to his memory, worthily placed in that noble old hall, where the memory of his services and his character still lives, as of one, who altered and elevated the tone of professional and judicial morality in his day, and left even to the present generation a greater legacy of sound and honest principles, than they might have been able to achieve without his aid."

Duncan Forbes's merit as a lawyer and judge are well known to every Scots lawyer, and were recognised by Lord Hardwicke,[8] perhaps the greatest of English judges. But he was more than a judge and lawyer; he did signal service to his country as a statesman, and even as a soldier. Yet this man, who, besides filling, as the Lord President of the Court of Session, the highest judicial office in Scotland, with extraordinary ability and distinction, had, though a civilian, a judge, exposed himself, in crushing the Rebellion, to greater dangers and fatigues, and displayed more military talent than any general employed in the king's service; this man, while the parliament and cabinet were settling 25,000*l.* a-year (in addition to his previous revenue of 15,000*l.* a-year) on the Duke of Cumberland,[9] was applying, apparently in vain, for the repayment of a sum of 1500*l.*,

[7] Sir Walter Scott, Art. in Quarterly Review.

[8] See a letter from Lord Hardwicke in the Culloden Papers, p. 158.

[9] The Duke of Cumberland's cousin, Frederic of Prussia's opinion of his military talents, will be found in a subsequent page.

which he had borrowed, in addition to large advances from his own resources, equal to three years' rent of his estate. "The persons who lent me the money at a pinch," he says, "are now justly demanding payment; and I, who cannot coin, and who never hitherto was dunned, find myself uneasy." Whether or not he was repaid any portion of his advances, there is good reason to believe that he did not receive the whole. The application of the savings of the many years which his son, John Forbes, spent in obscure retirement in England, is attested by the title of a huge heap of documents at Culloden House, which the worthy heir of the old man's high spirit, as well as of his fortunes, had marked, "Bonds of my father's retired." We mention these circumstances here, partly because we consider it to have been the great honour and happiness of Mitchell's life to have been the highly esteemed friend of such a man, and partly because there was some resemblance in their fates. Mitchell, besides displaying extraordinary ability in his profession as a diplomatist, moreover, like Duncan Forbes, though a lawyer, a civilian, exposed himself, by the command and in the service of his king, to greater dangers and fatigues than many men have undergone who have attained the rank of Field-Marshal. Except the solitary red riband, Mitchell received nothing as a memorial of his great and hard services.[1] He died if

[1] In a letter dated 5th January, 1761, Lord Barrington, then Secretary at War, writes to Mitchell. "If the workman be worthy of his hire, you have your claims, for no servant of the crown has worked harder, or gone through more disagreeable service." And that this service was also considered by his government to be of the highest kind is proved by the declaration of the

anything a poorer man than he entered the king's service: and not because he had been wasteful and extravagant. He was as little given to prodigality or parade as the great king whom he attended in his campaigns, by whose side he rode in battle, with whom he shared so many toils and perils, and with whom he discussed so many questions of diplomacy and war. But he and Duncan Forbes had to deal with men who bestowed coronets and pensions and grants, for other services than theirs. And yet, verily, even they have had or will have their reward. The impression that even now exists respecting them, where their characters and services are accurately known, justifies the saying, that—

> "True hearts are more than coronets,
> And simple Faith than Norman blood."

The correspondence, as given in the Culloden Papers, between Mitchell, John Forbes, the Rev. Patrick Murdoch,[2] who had been John Forbes's tutor, and was

highest functionaries of that government. In a dispatch, dated Whitehall, July 17th, 1757, the Earl of Holdernesse, Secretary of State, thus writes to Mitchell: "Your past conduct has been so well approved by the King, that his Majesty has been induced to trust to you for the execution of his orders, *upon the most material points upon which any foreign minister may have received his master's instructions.*"

[2] Murdoch accompanied Mitchell to Berlin, where he remained some time conducting part of the correspondence, while Mitchell and his secretary, Mr. Burnet, were with the army. Murdoch was the author of several mathematical works, as well as papers in the "Transactions of the Royal Society." He wrote an "Account of the Life and Writings of Colin MacLaurin, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh," prefixed to his friend MacLaurin's account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries; he also wrote a memoir of his friend James Thomson, which is prefixed to many editions of the "Seasons." He was a clergyman of the Church of England, and held the living of Stradishall in Suffolk. He appears to have been an

his friend, having himself been the pupil and friend of Colin MacLaurin; James Thomson, (the poet), Dr. Armstrong, &c., furnishes a very striking and pleasing picture of that circle of friends, to whom Johnson's words are applicable, when he says in his Life of Thomson, that he (Thomson) was "silent in mingled company, but cheerful among select friends, and by his friends very tenderly and warmly beloved." In a letter to Murdoch, dated Richmond, 27th of August, 1748, Mitchell says, "our dear friend Thomson died this morning about four o'clock, after a very short illness. I am here to see the last duties fairly paid." Thomson had appointed Mitchell and Mr., afterwards Lord, Lyttleton his executors. In a letter dated Ipswich, 8th of September, 1748, to John Forbes of Culloden, Murdoch says, "we have lost, my dear F., our old, tryed, amiable, open, and honest-hearted Thomson, whom we never parted

amiable and simple-hearted man; and highly esteemed by Mitchell as well as his other friends, for his kindness of heart and simplicity of character. We do not think that there is any good ground for the conjecture lately put forth, that he was the type of the "little fat round oily man of God," whom Thomson has placed in his "Castle of Indolence." Thomson had a high regard and warm friendship for Murdoch; and the practice too much indulged in of turning an author's pen into an assassin's stiletto, an instrument of malignity and cowardice, was utterly abhorrent to Thomson's manly, generous, and kindly nature. We regret that Mr. Burton, in his truly excellent memoir of Duncan Forbes, should have lent the authority of his name to this worse than idle and stupid conjecture. We are tempted to add, though the matter is not of much consequence, that Mr. Burton seems to be in error when he states that Murdoch was married in 1742. There is indeed a letter published in the Culloden Papers (a letter, by-the-by, which, as it is in every respect of a strictly private nature and concerns nobody but the writer, ought never to have been published at all) dated in 1742, which speaks of his marriage as an event not improbable. But the event there referred to does not appear to have taken place; and there are letters of his in MS. among the Mitchell Papers which show that he was unmarried at a later date.

from but unwillingly; and never met but with fresh transport; whom we found ever the same delightful companion, the same faithful depository of our inmost thoughts, and the same sensible, sympathising adviser. . . . . Let us ever cherish the memory of our dear friend; profit by the inimitable lessons he has left us; and love one another with that affection which united the little circle of his bosom friends."[3] In a letter of the 10th of September, 1748, to Mr. John Forbes of Culloden, Mr. Millar says, "I thank God, we all arrived safe here on the 29th of August. But ever since I have never been able either to act or think; for that very evening our dear friend Thomson was buried. How it 's dampt all my joy; you, who knew him well, and how I loved him, can best feel. . . . Poor Mr. Lyttleton is in great grief, as indeed are all his friends."[4]

The following letter from Dr. Hugh Blair to Mitchell, is given here principally as identifying the party referred to in the next letter under the initial M. with Mitchell. Perhaps such identification might have been unnecessary, but that the editor of the Culloden papers has, in a note to the initial "M." in Murdoch's letter, said "probably Sir Andrew Mitchell."

[3] Culloden Papers, p. 308.

[4] Ibid., 309.

Edinburgh, 19 *Feb.*, 1754.

Sir,

All Dr. Warrender's relations cannot but have the deepest sense of the obligations they are under to you on this occasion. As nothing could be more afflicting than the distress of one so justly dear to them all, his being under the care of so affectionate a friend as you is the greatest relief and satisfaction they can possibly enjoy. His sisters, Mrs. Fairholm and the Miss Warrenders, whose concern for their brother is so great as to unfit them for writing, could not be easy till they laid it upon me to make you the most grateful acknowledgments in their name. Acknowledgments they indeed know are useless to you ; it is natural to you to act a worthy and generous part, especially towards one with whom you have had so long and intimate connection; yet they cannot forbear expressing their sense of that weight of trouble and concern you must now have on Dr. Warrender's account, and their uneasiness at the same time lest it should prove in any way prejudicial to yourself. Allow me, sir, though unknown to you, to join with them in the same sentiments, and to rejoice in the midst of this sorrow that my cousin has the happiness of so valuable a friend. Your attention to inform his friends so punctually of the different turns of his case is, in particular, extremely obliging. They are entirely satisfied that everything will be done that is possible for his recovery ; and I need not say with what anxious concern they expect your further accounts from time to time. The many

proofs I have had of my cousin's worth, and the particular obligations I lie under to him, interest me in the highest degree on this critical occasion. May Providence disappoint our fears, and restore so worthy a man to you, to all his friends, and to the world.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and
most humble sert.,
HUGH BLAIR.[5]

The following is the passage to which we have referred ; it is in a letter of 16th May, 1754, from the Rev. Mr. Murdoch to Mr. John Forbes, of Culloden, and it proves how religiously Mitchell had attended to the dying wish of his revered friend. "You will have heard, perhaps more particularly than I, the turn of M.'s (Mitchell's) affairs. He wrote me nothing himself (being always in hurry and uncertainty, and in deep concern for the last sickness of poor Warrender, who died at his house this day s'ennight) ; but what I can gather from Millar's letters is, that the minister desired him not to go down, and gave him hopes of another seat. You ought, therefore, my dearest F., not to indulge either grief or resentment on what has happened,[6] and keep your mind to yourself. M—— bears all with the greatest composure ; and, for my own part, I can foresee, without being a prophet, that this will, in

[5] MS. at Fintray House. Mr. Warrender was among those taken, I think, at Preston in the Prince's service. D. F. M.

[6] What is here referred to will be explained, in part at least, in the next chapter.

all probability, end to his advantage and satisfaction. Did you ever read or hear of an eminently good man, that had not the envy, and artifice, and lies, of bad men to struggle with? It is impossible it should be otherwise, because his virtues are a continual reproach to them, and it happens often that their machinations fall upon their own heads, and cover them with eternal shame. But in whatever manner the great folks behave to him, I defy them to make him unhappy, as long as virtue, and conscience,[7] and character can support a man; which I believe they can do, were he wedged down to a galley. His honesty, and superior talents for business, are acknowledged and admired; and what he is in private life, you and I best know. Has he not

[7] The same principles seem to have been entertained by all the circle of friends, from the indefatigable men of action, the Lord President and Mitchell, whose lives were one unending scene of activity and strife, to the indolent poet Thomson, "more fat than bard beseems, and laughing careless in his easy seat," whose sluggishness exceeded even the usual bounds of what is termed "literary ease." In one of the most beautiful passages of his "Castle of Indolence," Thomson says:—

> "I care not, Fortune! what you me deny;
> You cannot rob me of free Nature's grace;
> You cannot shut the windows of the sky,
> Through which Aurora shows her brightening face;
> You cannot bar my constant feet to trace
> The woods and lawns, by living stream at eve;
> Let health my nerves and finer fibres brace,
> And I their toys to the great children leave;
> Of fancy, reason, virtue, nought can me bereave."

We use the word principles rather than sentiments, for it is to be remembered that these men were not men of words only; they acted up to what is here said. There was not about them a particle of the cant of the men who, with the words "general benevolence," "public spirit," "universal philanthropy," on their lips, pursue their selfish ends with more ferocity and less honesty than beasts of prey.

been as a father to us both? the same to MacLaurin's family, to Thomson, and of late to Warrender; and to many others that we never heard of? and all with a narrow fortune, and moving in an inferior sphere. In a word, I can find no one to compare with him, but Sir Charles, in Richardson's last book. I believe our friend would, in most cases, act just like that ideal baronet, whose character you should be acquainted with, if you are not already; and then tell me if you do not think the same. There are, no doubt, many gentlemen of great worth in that house, both from this side of the Tweed, and from yours; but none his superior in all the essential qualifications of a senator. And it will do no honour to the politicians concerned, to see him sacrificed to the mean resentments of a man whom nobody loves, and who visibly derives his importance from the weakness and indolence of others. But enough of this; since our friend himself is easy, we have nothing to do but to be quiet, and wait the issue."[8]

The reader will perceive that there were special reasons for departing, in the case of some of these Culloden Papers, from the rule, which, even if it were not a good one, the voluminous character of the Mitchell MSS. would render necessary, of not printing, in a work of this kind, anything that has been printed

[8] Culloden Papers, p. 310. Thomson, in one of his letters, speaks this of Mitchell. "Mitchell is in the House for Aberdeenshire, and has spoke modestly well; I hope he will be something else soon;—none deserves better: true friendship and humanity dwell in his heart."

before. We are further tempted to transcribe, from the same collection, the following most characteristic notes, the first full of the hospitable spirit of the kind-hearted Highland laird and his family; the three from Thomson evincing the poetical contempt of such a matter-of-fact thing as date, and also a business-like almost curt brevity in dealing with what Thomson evidently considered matters of serious business, namely, his creature comforts, which is in strange contrast with what Johnson calls the "in the highest degree florid and luxuriant diction" of his poems.

Mr. John Forbes to Alexander Rose.

Hampstead, June 5th, 1764.

SANDERS,

Our dear kind friend, Doctor John Armstrong, who is taking a jaunt through Scotland for his health and amusement, will deliver you this. Let him want for nothing that the sea, the river, or the hill can produce. Be as kind to him as you would be to

DUNCAN FORBES.
WILLIAM FORBES.
P. MURDOCH.
Poor Little ARTHUR FORBES.
JOHN FORBES.

P.S. You must go allongst with him, and show him Bunchrew. My father did so to those he loved.

I desire that Bell Fraser, Dunkie's nurse, may sing MacGill Tou Kerou to him.

Take good care of your honest old father and mother, and yourself.

I am your sincere friend,

JOHN FORBES.[9]

To ALEXANDER ROSE,
Factor of Ferrintosh, at Culloden.

Mr. James Thomson to Mr. John Forbes.

[No date.]

DEAR FORBES,

Excuse me; this unseasonable cold weather has given me a head-ach, which forbids me the pleasure of waiting on you, and the company that is to dine with you. I have received, too, a letter from Gray, wherein he tells me he has got a sore throat, and cannot venture out to-morrow. But, to make myself some amends, we will dine together to-morrow, either here, with you, or at the Bohemia Head. The walk will do us no harm.

Yours, &c.,

JAMES THOMSON.[1]

Mr. James Thomson to Mr. John Forbes.

[No date.]

DEAR SIR,

I sent about seven of the clock to the Rainbow, but they told you was gone to the play, and would return after it. If you please to come hither, I shall

[9] Culloden Papers, p. 312.

[1] Ibid., p. 314.

be very glad of your company. I am at the Bedford Arms, in the Piazza of Covent Garden.

Yours ever,

J. THOMSON.

Near 9.

Mr. James Thomson to Messrs. Forbes, Warrender, and Gray.

[No date.]

CHERS MESSIEURS,

I did not get Millar's note till after three, so cannot pretend to be at Brentford time enough to dine with you. Besides, my own dinner will be ready at four. So soon as I have dined, I will walk down the lane, either to find you at the Three Pidgeons, or meet you by the way, and so conduct you hither. I wish you had given me a line by yesternight's post.

Yours, &c.,

J. THOMSON.

Dr. Armstrong to Mr. John Forbes.

[No date.]

MY DEAR F.

As the d—l, my particular enemy, would have it, I can't go with you. God send us good luck in the lottery! If mine comes up a ten thousand, I intend to turn gentleman; for if I drudge more, poyson me. My service to Thomson.

I am ever yours,

J. A.[2]

Sunday, near 10.

[2] Culloden Papers, p. 315.

CHAPTER III.

HIS ELECTION FOR THE COUNTY OF ABERDEEN—A COUNTY ELECTION IN THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE REBELLION OF 1745.

It is stated in Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary that Mitchell first entered the House of Commons in 1747, as representative for the burghs of Elgin, Cullen, Banff, Inverury, and Kintore. The date of his entering Parliament is correct, but not the place he first represented. He first sat in Parliament for the county of Aberdeen, which he represented in the tenth Parliament of Great Britain. He was elected in the summer of 1747, and succeeded his friend Sir Arthur Forbes, Kt. and Bart., of Craigievar, who had represented the county of Aberdeen in the three preceding Parliaments. [3]

[3] Beatson's Parliamentary Register, vol. i., p. 273. Sir Arthur Forbes, Baronet of Craigievar and Fintray in the county of Aberdeen, the representative of the Forbeses of Corss, was descended from Patrick, the third son of the second Lord Forbes, which Patrick is also ancestor of the Forbeses, Earls of Granard in Ireland. (Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 591.) Sir Arthur Forbes was a steady friend and supporter of Sir Robert Walpole, who entertained, as every one did who knew him, a high respect for his character. Mitchell was greatly indebted for his success in this election to Sir Arthur Forbes's exerting his influence, which, both from family, property, and high personal character, was very great, in his favour. Their friendship continued through life, and Mitchell testified the high estimation in which he held Sir Arthur, by making a will in his favour. Sir Arthur settled the estates which came to him by Mitchell's will upon his second son in strict entail.

In one edition of Sir Walter Scott's works (London, 1838, Fisher and Co.) there is in Redgauntlet (vol. i., p. 171) an engraving of the interior of the

It appears by a letter from Mitchell to the Lord President, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, dated London, 6th April, 1747, and published in the Culloden Papers, that some weeks before that time Sir Arthur Forbes had first proposed to Mitchell that he should stand for the county of Aberdeen at the next election. Mitchell's

Hall of Craigievar Castle. Whether it was supposed that Sir Walter Scott alluded to an ancestor of that branch of the Forbes family in the portrait of Sir Robert Redgauntlet we do not know. Craigievar Castle is about the most complete thing of its kind in Scotland, except Glammis, which is much larger. It consists of one square tower of considerable height and extent, the windows near the bottom being only loop-holes, and increasing in size as you ascend. The hall is very like the engraving in Redgauntlet. The windows of it have been enlarged of late years. The central donjon tower formerly stood in the middle of an ample courtyard, surrounded by a quadrangle of towers, and curtains richly moulded and ornamented with rude sculpture. This is now all pulled down except a bit on one side. The bed-rooms, though fitted up and ready for use, have a gloomy, dreary, rather comfortless air. The hall has a more comfortable look, though for the last century the place has been little inhabited, only a few weeks in the year. Notwithstanding the antique appearance of Craigievar Castle, it is by no means one of the most ancient possessions of the family to which it now belongs, (Fintray has been in their possession upwards of 400 years, having been granted by charter from John, Earl of Buchan, to the first Lord Forbes in 1423. Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i., p. 590), nor is the castle itself of great antiquity, having been begun in 1610 by the family of Mortimer of Craigievar, and sold by them to William Forbes of Menie, second son of William Forbes of Corss, who completed the castle in 1627. A *manoir* of that date in England would have been built in a different style. But it is to be observed that Craigievar is situated in the gorge of a mountain pass on the Highland border, and a family mansion so situated at the beginning, nay, even at the end, of the 17th century behoved to be a place of strength. This William Forbes who purchased Craigievar became, by the death of his elder brother, the head of his branch of the family of Forbes, and held Corss, O'Neil, Menie, Craigievar, and Fintray in Aberdeenshire, Auchtertoul in Fife, and the Baronies of Finhaven and Careston in Forfarshire. The lands of Corss, Coul, and Kincraigy in the barony of O'Neil were granted by James III. to the Honourable Sir Patrick Forbes, third son of the second Lord Forbes, by charter, dated 13th October, 1482. (Douglas, i. 591.) The castle of Corss was built in 1581 by William Forbes of Corss, great-grandson of Sir Patrick. It passed from him to his son, Bishop Patrick Forbes of Corss, in whose time it was partly destroyed by an attack of the Highlanders. It is two and a half miles higher up the pass, and now a complete ruin.

views on the subject are explained in the letter referred to, with that extraordinary ingenuousness which formed a part of his character, and that profound knowledge of men which formed another part, that seldom accompanies the former. If we were writing a flaming panegyric of that (before Johnson's celebrated definition) somewhat vague embodiment of the pure and good, the sublime and beautiful, called a patriot, we should be inclined to suppress the passage in question. But as we are simply telling what of the truth we have been able to arrive at respecting a man, who, according to our view of the matter, may well, as things go, pass for a brave, honest and true, nay, for a large-hearted and generous one, we transcribe the passage without the alteration of a word, leaving the reader to make whatever comment on it he may feel inclined, with only one remark with reference, among other things, to Mitchell's retaining so long his seat in Parliament while absent on his mission to the Court of Prussia, namely, that even Andrew Marvell did not think it inconsistent with his character and principles to accept, and that too from a Government which he usually opposed and attacked, the post of Secretary of Legation to Lord Carlisle, when chosen by Charles II. Ambassador Extraordinary to Muscovy, Sweden, and Denmark, and to retain his seat for Hull during the two years he was absent, informing his constituents before his departure, in a letter dated London, June 16th, 1663, that "it was no new thing for members of our House to be dispensed with, for the service of the King and the nation, in foreign parts."

We may add, that there is a broad and marked distinction between the course which Mitchell indicates as that he intends to pursue and a sacrifice of principle for office. Mitchell's private fortune was not large. He had already, as he says, given up for the public service a profession which we have evidence, in the note-books (already mentioned) in his own handwriting, he had taken more than ordinary pains to learn. He had already, too, given proof, as Under Secretary of State for Scotland, that he possessed talents for public business. The Government with whom he had then acted was still in power. It was, therefore, perfectly consistent with the "fair and honourable part" which, he says, "he was resolved to act," (and we can answer for it he would act up to his resolution), to "propose to himself to be employed either at home or abroad, in a station agreeable to him, and in which he might be useful."

MY DEAR LORD, *London, 6th April,* 1747.

This serves to accompany a letter from Sir A. F.,[4] the contents of which will, I believe, be as great a surprise to you as the proposition was to me when he first made it. It came entirely of himself, without any suggestion from me whatever; and I have again and again desired him seriously to consider of it, to be sure that no seeds of repentance are left in his mind. This, he assures me, he has done, but still continues of the same opinion.

As you have long been my oracle, you will forgive

[4] Sir Arthur Forbes.

the freedom I take with you on this occasion; first, to desire your advice as to the expediency of my being in Parliament; and then to ask your opinion as to the probability of success, and as to the means I should make use of. But, in order to enable you to satisfy my requests, it will be proper to acquaint you with my inclinations, connections, and views.

As to the first, I own my desires formerly were stronger than they are now; and I have seen so much of the management of parties, and known too many members, to think of the House of Commons as I once did. Yet still I find my wishes of this kind are not extinguished; and I fear there is hardly any other road open to me, now that I am cut off from my profession, and in no train of business.

I need say little on the second head, as I have always conversed with you without reserve. You are already well acquainted with my situation in this country. If words are to be depended on, I have reason to expect favours from those who have it in their power to give; and what promises have been made me I have the pleasing vanity to think are neither owing to mean arts nor to cringing behaviour; but still the promises of great men are lighter than air, and their dispositions more uncertain than the weather. The only way, therefore, to fix them is to be in a situation to serve or to hurt them. If I had a proper foundation to attempt the county, I have hopes of the D. of N.[5] and his brother's[6] concurrence; but, on the other hand

[5] Duke of Newcastle.

[6] Mr. Pelham, then Prime Minister.

everything is to be feared from a certain eminent personage,[7] who does not chuse that his countrymen should be known to, or connected with, anybody besides himself,

My views, I confess to you, are neither so honest nor so disinterested as they have been. I desire, nay I am resolved, to act a fair and honourable part, if ever I shall be in Parliament; but I do propose a reward for myself,—that of being employed, either at home or abroad, in a station agreeable to me, and in which I may be useful; for my ambition at present is stronger than my avarice.[8]

The proceedings of this election will be best understood from the correspondence which follows, in the order of date.

The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Mitchell.

SIR, *White Hall, 11th June,* 1747.

As you have acquainted me with your design to offer your services to represent the county of Aberdeen in the ensuing Parliament, you will allow me to assure you of my most sincere and earnest wishes for your success.

The knowledge I have of your zealous attachment to his Majesty's service, and the true interest of your King and country, and my particular regard and friendship for you, are such, that it would be a great pleasure to me if I could in any way contribute to it,

[7] Probably the Duke of Argyle. [8] Culloden Papers, p. 475.

and if you think it would be of any service to you, to assure any of the gentlemen of that county of my good wishes, and those of my friends, for success, I must desire you to do it. I have wrote very earnestly in your behalf to my Lord Bruce and Lord Justice Clerk, and if there are any persons, to whom a letter from me would be of any service to you I will not fail to write one, as soon as ever you shall acquaint me with it.

I am, with great truth and esteem,
Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

The Right Honourable Henry Pelham to Mr. Mitchell.

SIR, *June 12th*, 1747.

I am sorry I could not have more discourse with you this morning, my house being extremely full, and myself quite tired; but as you are now posting for Scotland I cannot let you leave London without assuring you of my sincere wishes for your good success, and I flatter myself when you get into the country you will find all the King's friends disposed to make your election easy. If you have the good fortune to prevent opposition it will be a good work, and the country, in my mind, will feel good effects from it.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
H. PELHAM.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

Edinburgh, 25th June, 1747.

In obedience to your Grace's commands, I have the honor to acquaint you, that by all the information I have been able to procure since I came to Edinburgh, there is great reason to believe that the elections will go, in general, well; some of the candidates will have trouble, but few are in danger of losing their elections.

Last Sunday I had the honor to deliver your Grace's letter to the Lord Justice Clerk, but as his Lordship had given Sir Archibald Grant some encouragement to make a trial of his own interest in the county of Aberdeen; he said he was under some engagements with Sir Archibald's relations, and could not act against him without first settling matters with their common friends; at the same time he expressed a due regard for your Grace's recommendation, and I am persuaded when he finds that my friends are the most numerous in the country, his Lordship will then favor me with his interest. I have applied here to some of the Duke of Argyle's friends that have votes in that county: the answer they generally gave, was, that his Grace would soon be in Scotland.

Two days ago my Lord Drummore, one of the Lords of Session, declared his son, Captain Horn, (now in Zealand with General St. Clair's regiment), a candidate for the county, and publickly gives out that his son will be fully as acceptable to your Grace's friends as myself.

Though I am satisfied that he has no authority for this assertion, and if my friends do not deceive me, I have very little to fear from him in the county save to divide the interest, I submit it to your Grace whether it may not be proper to mention this new candidate, and his pretensions to the Duke of Argyle, and the Lord Justice Clerk, in such a manner as to animate their zeal and quicken their friends into action, which prevents a division in the county. I cannot conclude this without returning your Grace my most grateful thanks for the honor you have done me, and since I have been in this county, I have found but too much reason to be convinced how vain any attempt of mine would have been without your Grace's concurrence and protection.

I am, with great and sincere respect,

Your Grace's, &c.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

Aberdeen, 13th July, 1747.

My Lord Duke,

On the 7th curt. I was honoured with your Grace's letter of the 2nd by express, and I immediately wrote to my Lord Justice Clerk, according to your Grace's directions, but as I was then in a remote part of the county, and had not finished my visits to the gentlemen voters, I have delayed writing to your Grace until my return to this place.

I have been extremely well received in this county, and have had the strongest assurances from the gentlemen voters of carrying the election by a very great majority. This is owing in the first place to your Grace's hearty recommendation, and in the next to the steadiness of my friends here, who have been proof against every art.

As your Grace has been pleased to indulge me in the luxury of speaking truth, you will allow me to lay before you an account of our transactions in this county, which, though of very little importance to your Grace, I think my duty to state to you fairly.

I had the honour to acquaint your Grace from Edinburgh that I apprehended that my Lord Justice Clerk, and the other friends of the Duke of Argyle would declare for me, provided I had a majority in the county without them. My conjecture has been since fully verified, for soon after I began my tour through the shire, the Duke's friends in the county met in Aberdeen and came to this resolution :—

"To be for me, provided the Duke of Argyle did not "signify to them that he had altered his first resolution "and was to counteract what he had already done." These are the words of my Lord Duke's friends, and I confess they surprised me. Alarmed by this declaration, I doubled my diligence in the county, and the success was answerable to my pains, for the election was secured by a great majority without them.

Yesterday, on my coming to Aberdeen, Sir Archibald Grant, who all this while had been active in the

county (as he gave out by directions from the Lord Justice Clerk and my Lord Advocate), desired a meeting with me, at which he gave up his pretensions in consequence of letters he had received from Edinburgh, which were the effects of your Grace's letters to my Lord Justice Clerk and my Lord Advocate.

I received Sir Archibald's surrender with all the civility it deserved, but when conditions were mentioned, I said that I would agree to none, and I fairly told him that a fortnight ago his surrender would really have obliged me, and freed me from much trouble. He then insisted that I should acknowledge that I owed my election to the Duke of Argyle, and produced a letter from his brother, my Lord Advocate, to me, advising me to make that acknowledgment. In this he was supported by Mr. Duff, his Grace's manager in this county, who, I am well informed, had a private instruction from my Lord Justice Clerk for the purpose. I absolutely refused to make any declaration of that sort, because I believed that I could carry the election in this county without the assistance of the Duke of Argyle's friends, and that I owed my success to your Grace, and my friends here ; but as the Duke of Argyle had honoured me with his countenance on this occasion, I could with truth declare that I owed the ease and unanimity of my election to his Grace, but could go no farther ; this at last they seemed satisfied with, and I have accordingly wrote to his Grace the Duke of Argyle, I hope in proper terms. I have likewise wrote to my Lord Justice Clerk and my Lord Advocate, to thank them

for prevailing with Sir Archibald to desist, or more properly for withdrawing their support and encouragement from him, which your Grace's letters could only have effected.

I ask pardon for mentioning so many circumstances concerning myself, but the desire I have of your Grace's approbation, and the fear of having my conduct misrepresented, made it necessary. Besides, the progress of this affair shews in what manner business is transacted in this country.

I must not conclude this very long letter without doing justice to my Lord Bruce, to whom I have had the honour of delivering your Grace's letter, which he received with great marks of deference and respect, and in a few days thereafter he declared warmly for me.

The Sheriff has fixed the 28th curt. for the election in this county, which I hope now will be unanimous.

There will be no opposition in the Northern Counties or Boroughs, the county of Inverness only excepted, where Major Grant, supported by Sir Ludovick, will give Mr. Macleod great trouble.

I again ask your Grace's forgiveness, and am, &c.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Argyle.

Aberdeen, 15th July, 1747.

My Lord,

The honour your Grace has done me in recommending me to Mr. Duff, and the advantage I have

found from your Grace's favour in this county require of me the strongest acknowledgments of gratitude and thanks, and as I am very sensible your Grace's influence has made everything easy, I most cheerfully take this first opportunity of owning to your Grace the obligation you have laid on me.

Last night Sir Archibald Grant acquainted me that in consequence of the advice he had received from your Grace's friends in Edinburgh, he was resolved to withdraw his pretensions to the county, which I hope will make my election unanimous.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect, My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

Mr. Mitchell to the Lord Justice Clerk.

Aberdeen, 15th July, 1747.

My Lord,

Though your Lordship could not comply with the request I made to you for letters to some of your friends in this county, I cannot omit this early opportunity of acknowledging the obligations I have to many of your friends here, and particularly the service you have done me by your last letter to Mr. Duff, which, by his prudent management, has produced the full effect you desired. Sir Archibald Grant has declined standing, and I hope the election for this county, which is fixed for the 28th curt., will be unanimous.

I am, &c.

Mr. Mitchell to J. Maule, Esq.[9]

Aberdeen, 15*th July,* 1747.

Dear Sir,

I had the honour of yours of the 1st, which came late to hand, as I was then on my tour round the county which I have just finished, much to my satisfaction. It has given me great uneasiness that I was obliged to leave Aberdeen before I had the pleasure of seeing you, and to have had no opportunity of writing to you sooner to acknowledge the sense I have of the friendship you express in that letter. Mr. Duff has acquainted me with the kind part you took in my affair, which lays me under great obligations to you. Sir Archibald Grant declared to me last night that he gave up his pretensions to the county, and the day of election will be fixed for the 28th. I am extremely sensible how much I owe to his Grace the Duke of Argyle, whose favour and countenance has been of the greatest service to me, and I have taken the liberty to acknowledge the same to his Grace. I hope my Lord Panmure and you will have no sort of trouble with your elections, which I assure you will be a considerable satisfaction to,

Dear Sir, &c.

The following are some passages of one of the letters referred to in the preceding. It is from William Grant, then Lord Advocate of Scotland, to his brother, Sir Archibald Grant, Bart., of Monymusk, and dated Edinburgh, 25th June, 1747.

[9] See note, *ante*, p. 31.

"Since you went from hence we have received here the news of Sir Arthur Forbes's resolution not to stand again for the county of Aberdeen, at next election; and that he recommends for his successor your neighbour, Mr. Mitchell of Thainston, which will no doubt give considerable accession of interest to Mr. Mitchell, who is also possest of credentials showing that the election of him for the shire would be agreeable to the administration. * * * *
But this for myself I am free to declare, that unless you be chosen, I am for Mr. Mitchell, as being himself a good Whig, and educated in a way that makes him acquainted with public affairs, and consequently qualified to be a member of parliament, and as being acceptable to the administration."

The writer of this letter mentions a circumstance which shows the extraordinary difficulty there was at that time in procuring commissions in the army, no doubt in part arising from the smallness of the standing army then as compared with it now. He mentions, that a baronet of ancient family and large estate, a county member too, the representative in parliament of the largest county in Scotland, has been "reduced to the necessity of sending over his eldest son with the Earl of Albemarle to carry arms in Flanders, in hopes of his getting a pair of colours before the end of the campaign, if he should not be sooner killed with his musket in his hand."

As a further illustration of the same subject, we may

quote the following letter, in the Culloden Papers, p. 149, in reference to a commission in the Blues, for John Forbes, the Lord President's son.

24th September, 1738.

My Lord,

The Duke of Argyll intended to have wrote to you himself to-day; but some company coming in hindered it; and not to lose any time, he has commanded me to acquaint you, that he has just received advice of the death of the Quarter-Master to the king's troop, in the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, of which his Grace is Captain; and desires to know if you please to let your son accept of it. The Quarter-Masters of that regiment are on a different footing from other regiments; they have the king's comission, and severall people of quality have been Quarter-Masters in it; particularly, lately, Captain Fielding, Lord Denbigh's brother, who purchased a company of foot with what he sold that comission for; and that if your son takes it, it may be a means of getting forward if an opportunity offers, or he may afterwards do as he or you thinks proper; and it is his Grace's opinion he should take it. My Lord Duke desires you will let him have your answer as soon as possible.

I am with all respect, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient and most
humble servant,

James Cockburn.

I had forgot to tell your Lordship, that the pay of

the Quarter-Master is eight shillings and six-pence a-day.

In his answer, dated 6th of October, 1738, the Lord President says : "It is to little purpose, if your Grace will pardon me to say so, to have asked my consent to my son's accepting what you thought proper for him ; what is useful and reputable for him in that way you know infinitely better than I do." The letter next following in the collection above quoted, from Culloden Papers, p. 150, is from the Lord President to "Captain Alexander Forbes, Royal Gray Dragoons." It is dated in 1739.

To return to the Aberdeenshire election.

Mr. Mitchell to T. Littleton, Esq.

Haddo House, 14*th August*, 1747.

I AM now so far recovered as to be able to write to you, which nothing but want of health should have so long delayed. I shall not at present give you the trouble of a particular detail of my transactions since I came into this county, (some of which however will entertain you), but I cannot help observing to you, that without the most cordial and zealous support from your friends at London, I should have been betrayed by some that were trusted in order to do me service ; this I happily discovered, and thereby prevented its taking effect. My friends in the country have done nobly by me ; they have resisted every art that was made use of to divide them and to withdraw them from me, and

my success was answerable to their steadiness, for I was unanimously elected by a very numerous meeting of the gentlemen freeholders. My opponent, Sir Archibald Grant, resigned about a week before the election, after giving me all the trouble in his power, and wanted to persuade me that without him I could not carry it, though at that time I had it by a majority of 4 to 1.

By my Lord Duke of N——'s directions, I acquainted him with what passed before the election, and I have likewise wrote to Mr. Pelham, and I hope my conduct will meet with their approbation. I have avoided saying or doing anything that can give offence to any that are employed in the king's service, though I must own, my temper has been severely tryed, and I know they will never forgive my refusing certain propositions, which, if I had accepted, I had been dishonoured.

I shall pass a few weeks here to return thanks to the electors, and I have the satisfaction to think that an interest is raised that may be easily maintained by those who enabled me to lay the foundation of it, but if care be not taken in the beginning everything will be undone, for my enemies are hard at work in divers ways.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Morton.

Aberdeen, 21st September, 1747.

My dear Lord,

Your advice, which I have strictly followed, has been almost fatal to me. I have now however finished my second round of visits, and I have reason not to repent the trouble I have taken.

I had the honour of your Lordship's of the 4th, and I propose in a few days to set out for Inverness, and to return by the Highland road; may I beg to hear from you by the Inverness post, and that you will drop a line for me to the care of the Postmaster of Perth, about the 10th of next month, by which I may know where to find you.

I had, by the last post, letters from my Lord President's son, acquainting me that he had applyed to Mr. Pelham to be made Governor of Inverness, in the room of General Blaikney, promoted to that of Minorca; that Mr. Pelham had received him very well, and advised him to apply to the other ministers; that several of his father's friends in England concurred; and at the same time he desires me very earnestly to endeavour to prevail with his father to ask this government for him;—this I intend to do, and for that purpose hope to be at Inverness by the end of the week, but as I am well acquainted with my friend's delicacy, especially where the interest of his family may seem to be concerned, I have great doubts of success.

As I have this much at heart, and know your regard for the President, may I take the liberty to desire your Lordship to write to my Lord Duke of Newcastle, recommending John Forbes to be made Governor of Inverness, which I am persuaded will be of weight with his Grace, and I am sure it is doing his Majesty a service, as it will be extremely agreeable to all real friends of the present establishment in the country, and

will, in some measure, remove an objection which is generally but too well grounded, viz. :—That when danger is over, services to a government are forgotten. But in case your Lordship shall think fit to meddle in this affair, I will fairly give you my friend's character.

He has been ten or twelve years in the army, and signalized himself at the battle of Dettingen,[1] where the rest of the corps he belongs to misbehaved ; notwithstanding which he is now only a Lieutenant in the Blues commanded by the Earl of Hertford. He is now between thirty and forty, possesst of as much honesty as his father, and as much courage as any man in the army : in short he has his father's good qualities, without his talents. But great abilities are not always necessary for governours, and a want of promotion has made him sick of the army. This would be an honorable and creditable retreat ; he would then endeavour to preserve his father's family of which he is the sole hope.

Thus I have made a sort of picture of my friend, which I hope will not displease you, and have put it in your power to serve the son of one who has saved us all, but takes no care of his own family.[2]

The election took place on the 28th of July, 1747, and Mitchell returned thanks to the electors in the following address :—

[1] Mr. Burton (Life of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, p. 343) also says he "had a horse shot under him at Fontenoy."

[2] The above letter affords some explanation of what Mr. Murdoch says of Mitchell in his letter to John Forbes, given in the preceding chapter.

"Filled with the warmest sense of gratitude for the honour this day conferred on me by your unanimous vote, an honour that in my most ambitious and visionary moments, I dared not to have aspired to without your hearty concurrence and approbation, allow me, Gentlemen, to return you thanks for the high marks of confidence and esteem which you have bestowed on me by chusing me representative for this large and flourishing county, at a time when, probably, business of the greatest importance to the present, and to future ages, will be the subject of parliamentary discussion.

"Pleased, as I am, with the station to which you have called me, I am not the less conscious of the danger that attends it; the knowledge I have of myself, and my want of experience, fill me with doubts and fears, but I shall endeavour to deserve your approbation, and the continuance of your favour, to which my actions only can entitle me. In this disposition of mind, I trust to your candour and indulgence, and hope, when you judge of my conduct in Parliament, you will remember that it is no easy task to succeed Sir Arthur Forbes."

Mitchell appears to have spoken occasionally in Parliament. Horace Walpole, in his Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of George the Second, mentions his opposing, in 1751, the motion of George Townshend to address the king to enforce the sentence of the Privy Council against General Anstruther,[3] and in 1752, his

[3] Vol. i., p. 82.

taxing old Horace Walpole with his unparliamentary behaviour, in speaking on one side and voting on the other.[4] And as Walpole mentions him without either a sneer or any other expression of malignity, we suppose we may infer that if Mitchell (which is probable) spoke seldom in the house, he spoke, when he did speak, if not like an orator, like a man of sense, which is somewhat better.

In 1751-2, Mitchell was made one of his Majesty's Commissioners (or Commissaries as they were then called,[5]) at Brussells, for settling the treaty of commerce with commissaries or commissioners appointed on the part of Austria and Holland.

[4] Vol. i., p. 222.

[5] MS. correspondence from Brussells at Fintray House—and see Beatson's Parliamentary Register, vol. i., p. 290.

CHAPTER IV.

1752—1756.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, THE EARL OF MORTON, ETC.—CORRESPONDENCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF HENRY HOME, LORD KAMES, AS ONE OF THE JUDGES OF THE COURT OF SESSION IN SCOTLAND.—LETTERS FROM THE EARLS OF ESSEX, FINDLATER, AND GRANARD.—MITCHELL RETURNED FOR THE ELGIN DISTRICT OF BURGHS, 1754.—APPOINTED ENVOY TO BERLIN, 1756.

Mitchell appears to have been a good deal consulted respecting Scotch affairs, even after the office of Secretary of State for Scotland was abolished. We shall mention one instance of this, as throwing light upon several of the features of that time—in particular upon that psychological curiosity, the Duke of Newcastle.

In February 1752, Henry Home, the eminent Scotch lawyer and author of the "Elements of Criticism" and other well-known works, was appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Session, and took his seat on the bench by the title of Lord Kames. Among the private papers of Sir Andrew Mitchell there are a good many letters referring to the subject of this appointment. Mitchell appears to have been consulted by the Duke of Newcastle respecting the appointment; and some enemies of Mitchell, with a view, apparently, of

prejudicing him with the Aberdeenshire electors, appear to have industriously circulated a report that he (Mitchell) had given an unfavourable, and, in fact, untrue character of Mr. Home to the Duke when so consulted.[1]

The following letter contains the first notice of this report.

Clarges Street, 18*th February,* 1752.

Dear Sir,

Last night, in a company of seven or eight gentlemen, whom I happened to be with, your name being mentioned, one Mr. John Graham, whom I have little acquaintance of, told us, that when the employment of a Lord of the Session in Scotland was first in agitation for Mr. Home :—

That you told his Grace the Duke of Newcastle that Mr. Home was of a Jacobite family, and that you doubted much that gentleman was himself a Jacobite.

This he said retarded the affair some time, but upon further application for Mr. Home, and a further explanation, that you told his Grace that Mr. Home's father was in the Rebellion in the year 1715.

That this having been told to his Grace the Duke of Argyle, he enquired into it, and upon enquiry found that Mr. Home's father had not been in the Rebellion

[1] In one of the letters, dated 18th February, 1752, among the MSS. at Fintray House, from a correspondent of Mitchell in Scotland, the matter is thus stated : "What I mean is a report that I understand has been handed about, that you were the cause of stopping Henry Home to be our judge, by saying to the English Minister that his family were disaffected, in so far as his father was out in the Rebellion, 1715 :" and it would seem that the report was traced to the Duke of Newcastle.

in the year 1715, but that he served as a volunteer for his late Majesty, and having acquainted his Grace the Duke of Newcastle therewith, the employment was immediately given to Mr. Home.

I told the gentleman I was too well acquainted with you to believe you capable of any such action, but that the fair way, and the part I should always act to my friend, was, to acquaint you with it, that you might have an opportunity of justifying yourself.

Upon this, Mr. Graham said he had it in a publick company from the Earl of Home, who, I think he said, told the company he had it from his Grace the Duke of Argyle.

I should not have been satisfied with myself as a friend if I had not acquainted you with this, being, in my opinion, a piece of common justice that every man has a right to from his friend.

I am, &c.

GEORGE MONCRIEFF.

The following declaration is in Mr. Mitchell's handwriting :—

"Sometime in the month of December last his Grace the Duke of Newcastle sent for me, and asked me whether I was acquainted with Mr. H. Home. I told him I was. He then asked me his character, which I gave in the following words.—'He is an able lawyer, that has had great practice, is learned and ingenious, is a worthy man in private life, and I believe him as good a Whig as I am.'

"I was asked whether I was acquainted with his father. I answered I was not; that I believed he was dead before my time. Then being asked if I knew or had heard anything of the family having been disaffected? My answer was that I knew nothing, and had heard nothing of that, except some vague reports here, (at London), and, I added, immediately, that these were of no consequence, for that Mr. Home was a Whig upon principles.

"This is all that ever passed between the Duke of Newcastle and me upon this subject, and the words are exact, as nearly as I can recollect them at the distance of upwards of two months.

"ANDREW MITCHELL.

"*March 7th*, 1752."

Lord Deskford,[2] in a letter to Mitchell dated March 22nd, 1752, thus alludes to it:—

"As soon as I received yours with the papers enclosed, I copied out that paper that was quoted "Declaration," and sent it to my friend Lord Kames, and by the same post I sent your letter, with all the other papers, to my Lord Hopetoune; as soon as he returns them to me, I shall send them to Aberdeen, and direct them from thence to be forwarded to my

[2] Eldest son of the Earl of Findlater and Seafield. Horace Walpole, in a letter to General Conway, dated Rome, April 23, 1740, gives the following account of him: "Harry, you saw Lord Deskfoord at Geneva; don't you like him? He is a mighty sensible man. There are few young people have so good understandings. He is mighty grave, and so are you; but you can both be pleasant when you have a mind. Indeed one can make you pleasant, but his solemn *Scotch ry* is a little formidable."—Orford's works, vol. v., p. 6.

Lord Findlater. I have long esteemed my Lord Kames very much, and do really believe there is no man in Britain more a Whig than he is, and it gives me great pleasure to see that you have thought of him as I do. As he is a most benevolent man, and well liked by many people in your county, the aspersion against you was well contrived to do you mischieff, and I am afraid will still have that effect, if it continues to meet with any credit. Your crime is, having some share of the Duke of Newcastle's and Mr. Pelham's favour, without depending upon those who call themselves the Scotch Ministry for it ; I believe everybody is satisfied that if any person of this country receives any marks of favour or trust, except by the means of those who have been so long trusted here and loaded with favours, that person must lay his account with having all the mischieff done him that their art or power can do ; and if anybody doubts of this, the various ingines they have now set to work to distress you in Aberdeenshire will prove it. I must own I am afraid that you will have difficulty there at your next election, with the whole weight of the Scotch Ministry against you, except your English friends exert themselves very vigorously to hinder you from being oppressed for belonging to them."

And again on the 23rd of March :—

"Having wrote another letter to you on the same subject, I trouble you with this note, only to inform you that I have just now the papers sent me back from Lord Hopetoun, who says :—

" 'This affair is very unlucky for our friend, and I beg you may assure him that, for my own share, I never gave the smallest credit to it, and will do whatever lies in my power to destroy such a malicious, and, I dare say, groundless report. Those who know him, and are impartial, will be easily satisfied; but it will be difficult to persuade others to do him justice.' "[3]

The Earl of Morton[4] interested himself very warmly in this matter. As the origin of the story appeared so closely connected with the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Morton says, in a letter to Mitchell of the 4th of March, 1752, "there is no evidence upon earth that can vindicate you, but the Duke of Newcastle alone, and by his verdict alone you must stand or fall." However, the Duke of Newcastle appears to have refused to give Mitchell any vindication of his innocence in writing, although Lord Morton says he "was in hopes that a strong letter or two from him, which he could show to the Duke, might procure the proper and only effectual vindication." At last, finding that all would not do, Lord Morton wrote to the Duke himself, and, as he says himself, in a manner forced from his shuffling Grace the following characteristic letter.

Newcastle House, March 16th, 1752.

My dear Lord,

I had the honour of your Lordship's letter upon the subject of Mr. Mitchell, and I hope the very great

[3] MS. original at Fintray House.

[4] James Douglas, 14th Earl of Morton.

hurry I have necessarily been in, upon conclusion of the session of Parliament, and the King's going abroad, will be an excuse for my not returning an answer sooner, and I hope this will be entirely to your Lordship's satisfaction. I must do Mr. Mitchell the justice to say that he gave Mr. Hume the character which I am persuaded he deserves ; that he was a very honest, and a very able man, very well affected to the Government, and very proper to be made a judge. And this is so true, that, when I recommended Mr. Hume to the King, his Majesty was pleased to ask me some particular questions about him, upon which I named all those (your Lordship among the rest) who had recommended Mr. Hume to me, and I added also what Mr. Mitchell had said to me in his favor, which I think was the day, or the day before I spoke to the King, but of that I can't be certain, but it was very fresh in my memory, and I hope I did not do amiss in acquainting the King with the good character and reputation of Mr. Hume, which I had from different quarters.

I am, with the greatest truth[5] and respect,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.[6]

EARL OF MORTON.

[5] This reminds one of what Andrew Marvell says in his character of a certain member of parliament of his time : "never lyes more than when he professes to speak the sincerity of his heart."

[6] *Whitehall, March 27th, 1752, at night.*

DEAR SIR,

I have my Lord Duke of Newcastle's orders to send you a copy of a

The truth of the matter would seem to have been, that the Duke of Newcastle, the falsest,[7] and, at the same time, the most pusillanimous, and the most unreasoning[8] of mankind, had, in his heedless, hurried, chattering manner, given a false representation of what Mitchell had said to him respecting Henry Home; that when pressed by Mitchell to do him justice, he had shuffled and equivocated in his usual fashion, but that, when pointedly applied to by the Earl of Morton, a man evidently with a spice in his composition of the old devil of the Black Douglas, who insisted on a categorical "ay" or "no"; he quailed (also after his usual fashion) before such a grim inquisitor, and was compelled to do (to borrow Morton's own words to Mitchell) "an act of justice due to a man who had been so

letter which his Grace wrote last night, to the Earl of Morton; and which, he hopes, will prove satisfactory to you.

I beg you will be so good as to make my compliments to Mr. Dayrolles, and Mr. Hatton; and to be assured of the great truth and regard, with which I am,

Dear Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
Hugh Valence Jones.*

Andrew Mitchell, Esq.

[7] Sir Robert Walpole, who knew him, and had cause to know him well, said of him, "His name is perfidy."

[8] *Inconsequent* would express the idea better, but the word is scarcely English. The meaning is that there was no logical coherence in the trains of his ideas, and therefore none in his actions and in his discourse, whether spoken or written. He had a certain vivacity of manner, and being, as he says himself in the above letter, always in a hurry, he himself and perhaps some others mistook this for activity of mind, or, to borrow the slang of that age, for quickness of parts. But it was merely nervous activity or agitation, such as may be seen in a vivacious baboon.

* The son of Charles Valence Jones, Esq., and Mary, the sister of Philip Yorke, first Earl of Hardwicke.

grossly injured." It is interesting to observe in the details of this affair how a race will preserve its characteristics. In this somewhat fiery and irascible, but withal just and truth-loving Earl, we find a Douglas in the middle of the eighteenth century, who might almost have sat to Sir Walter Scott for the portrait of Grim old Archibald Bell the Cat, whose scorn of the letter-forging felon Marmion could scarcely have been greater than that of the Earl of Morton for the mean, shuffling, perfidious Duke of Newcastle.

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of giving the Earl's letter to Mitchell of joyful congratulation, when he had at last (to borrow his own words in a subsequent letter) "in a manner forced this letter from his Grace." There is a heart and soul in the letter, which makes it pleasant to read.

Dalmahoy, 2nd April, 1752.

My dear Sir,

I wrote you on the 12th of last month, and since that have received yours of the 10th, just as you was going to embark. I do not at all wonder at the uneasiness you seem to have been under, but hope, if it be not already removed, this will effectually remove it.

Two days since I received an answer from the Duke of Newcastle, of which I herewith send you a copy enclosed. It came to my hands while I was keeping Sholto's birthday, with a good number of my friends and acquaintances, and I assure you it gave a very high relish to the feast; some of them were people who

know you, and wish you well. Several of them had heard the story, and were doubtful of it, so I read the letter with an audible voice to them all. I assure you, dear Mitchell, it gave me inexpressible satisfaction, as I regard the reputation of my friend nearly as my own, and its arrival at that particular time put me in mind of a circumstance that once happened to myself before. The first letter I ever received from the same Sholto, for whom we were then carousing, was delivered to me at two o'clock in the morning, when I had returned home from the Justiciary Court, after closing the evidence in an infamous and calumnious prosecution, carried on against me by the late Sir James Stewart, and the good woman, who was then a-bed, told me I should certainly come off honourably, as she looked upon that as a favourable omen; and now that I have procured an ample vindication of you, you must not doubt of my putting it to its proper use. Nothing but such a letter as this could have cleared up the matter to general satisfaction. It is all wrote with his Grace's own hand, and though you could not obtain the like from him, yet I wonder you should overlook yourself so far as not to desire from Lord Home to write you a letter containing what the Duke said to him in your vindication; however, that is now of no great consequence, but would have been of very great, supposing the Duke had refused to vindicate you to me in the way he has done. I am just now going to write to Sir Arthur Forbes, from whom I received a letter about a fortnight ago, but which I delayed to answer, being still

in hopes I should have a favourable return from his Grace. Thank God, it came at last, and has fairly brought you out of the myre, and now, as I presume your spirits may be calm and easy, I desire you 'll answer the paragraph I wrote you in a former letter, of David Scott's proposal, about trying for his son, because I would willingly have our other friend placed in a calm way of life.

I am ever, without ambiguity, dear Mitchell,

Yours,

MORTON.[9]

Dalmahoy, 24th April, 1752.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote you on the 2nd of April, and sent enclosed a copy of the Duke of Newcastle's letter to me upon your affair, which was one of the most acceptable letters I ever received in all my life; but, not knowing how to direct to you, I sent my packet under cover to Andrew Drummond, the banker, and desired him to fill up the address, and forward it. Hitherto I have had no return, either from him or you, which gives me a little uneasiness, because I should be sorry, on your account, if my packet had miscarried. I have several other things to write you, but will delay it till you let me know how to address you. Your answer may be directed for me to the care of Messrs. Gosling and Bennet, bankers, in Fleet-street; I am sure in that manner they will come safe, having had repeated experience; and it is proper to inform you that a letter put into the post house here for any place beyond seas, runs

[9] MS. at Fintray House.

a very great risk of never arriving, unless it be sent under cover to some person in London. The reason is, that whoever puts in a foreign letter to the post house at Edinburgh, must pay in with it a part of the postage, which the under fellows in the office very often smuggle, and throw the letter aside, whereas there is no postage paid at London. Now, if the same rule that is observed here obtains in Brussels, there may possibly be the same risk of miscarrying: this is a circumstance that should be known to a public negotiator in foreign parts, a knowledge which possibly you had no opportunity of obtaining, when formerly in office, as your correspondence lay then only between London and Edinburgh, and no opportunity of smuggling, when guarded by your authoritative frank.

I ever am, dear M.,

Yours, &c.,

MORTON.[1]

Dalmahoy, 24 Nov., 1752.

MY DEAR SIR,

By last post I received your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the civilities you showed to my youth. He and Lesslie both of them acquainted me how much he had been obliged to you, and that, through your introduction, Sholto had been distinguished in a particular manner by the Duke d'Aremberg, who invited him to his country house. As for the fine words bestowed upon him by the other person you mention, I don't think that will ever avail him much. I have had large bowls of the same whipt

[1] MS. at Fintray House.

cream lavished on myself for these fourteen years past, but never was a bit the better for it; however, a courteous reception is always very agreeable, and, though not accompanied with any offices of friendship, deserves at least some acknowledgment.

* * * * *

I think, if possible, you ought to ask leave to come over, or you run great risk of loosing your election. I suppose your friends in the county will have wrote you the particulars, and I am told that severall of the gentlemen who were with you last time are now engaged to one or other of your antagonists. Mr. Scot never wrote me a word about his proposall. He spoke to me of it three months ago, but then it was past time, and I am informed that he is now about a purchase of a very different kind, but if I had known of his proposal in the month of March or April, I could then have got it done by the means of Lord Dunmore.[2] At present I have not the slightest hope of it.

I ever am, dear Mitchell, yours,

MORTON.

MR. MITCHELL.

The following letter from Lord Aberdour, the son of the Earl of Morton, is curious, as exhibiting a peer's eldest son in a character in which we think he is now almost never seen,—a law-student.

[2] William Murray, 3rd Earl of Dunmore.

Leyden, Oct. 12th, 1752.

Dear Sir,

We arrived here on Sunday evening, after an agreeable-enough journey. At Antwerp we met with Lord Stormont[3] and Mr. Dawnay, who were just arrived there from Bergen Op Zoom, on their way to Brusselles.

I am fairly settled in a very good lodging, in which I should not be ashamed to entertain even a British Commissary.[4] Law is the word, and you may fancy me trudging to school every morning, with as much law under my arm as would puzzle the advocates of Mechlin. I could not help smiling when I went into class on Monday morning, to see a scene so different from any I had been used to for some months; the solemn Batavi wondering at the wisdom of their professor, and writing down as he dictates, word for word, which will be most faithfully transmitted to posterity, without diminution or addition, as long as law or Leyden last. I must inform you, by the by, that our class is a polite class; we have no bubble eaten, and there has not one greasy night gown made its appearance there.

Pray is Bettsy provided with a pad yet? I beg you 'ill let me know how our process with the jocky is like to turn out. You know I have a great esteem for fatsides, and I shall not be easy till I 'm assured our friend is reimbursed in the fourteen shillings; if there

[3] David, 7th Viscount Stormont.

[4] Commissioner—see *ante,* p. 68.

are any points relating to the evidence that require an uncommon depth of the law to clear up, Mr. Leslie and I are ready to give our advice gratis.

Mr. Hatton[5] was so good as to bespeak a set of bow and arrows for me, which could not be got ready before I left Brusselles; you 'ill oblige me greatly if you 'ill send them to this place when you can conveniently, and I shall pay the money to any person you please to name here at the Hague. Pray make my best compliments to Mr. Dayrolles and his lady. I shall do myself the honour to write to him soon, to return thanks for his civilities. I have executed the commission Mr. Dayrolles was so good as charge me with. I beg you 'ill offer my best thanks to the Duke of Aremberg, and assure him I am very sensible of the honour he was so good as do me while at Brusselles. If I can be of any use to you here, be assured that nobody can have greater pleasure in serving you, than your sincere friend and humble servant.

ABERDOUR.

P.S. Pray make my best compliments to my friend the Abbot; if ere he passes this way, I 'll give him a dish of as good calcannan as this damned country can afford.

The next letter presents a sketch, from his own hand, of another young nobleman, differently occupied—"pupil and laced governor from France." "Governor" was then, as will be seen below, as well as from Pope's

[5] Son of the Earl of Winchilsea.

authority just quoted, the term for what is now designated "travelling tutor." The place from which the letter is dated seems to have been then a favourite point of the "grand tour."

> "But chief her shrine where naked Venus keeps,
> And Cupid rides the lion of the deeps." [6]

His lordship's recommendation of his host's talents as a cook recalls the line—

> "Tried all *hors-d'-ouvres*, all *liqueurs* defined;
> Judicious drank, and, greatly daring, dined." [7]

However, the rest of Pope's description is quite inapplicable to the case of this young nobleman, whose letter, it will be seen, displays much modesty, as well as good sense and good feeling.

The Earl of Essex[8] *to Mr. Mitchell.*

DEAR SIR, *Venise*, 29 *December*, 1752.

I hope you will excuse my troubling you again with a second letter, to return you many thanks for the great civilities you shewed me at Bruxells. I own I should not have done it so soon after my last from Munich, but I begin to be afraid it was lost, or perhaps never put into the post, for I own I was fool enough to trust it to a servant of that place to put in, and I make no doubt but he forgot it, or put it into the post without any care; however, I hope this will arrive safe, and that you will be convinced it was not neglect in

[6] Dunciad, B. IV., v. 306. [7] Ibid., v. 317.

[8] William Anne Holles Capel, 4th Earl of Essex of that name, son and heir of William Capel, 3rd Earl of Essex.

me, for I should be very ungratefull if I was not very thankfull to one who is so good a friend to my brother Villiers,[9] and, besides that, who shewed me so great civilities. I received a very kind letter from Mr. Villiers yesterday, who flattered me very much in saying he had received one from you, where he[1] was so good as to mention many kind things on my account, many more than I can flatter myself I deserve.

I arrived here about a fortnight ago, in perfect health, tho' alone, for my governour[2] and I quarelled at Frankfort, and consequently separated; he went to Paris, and I continued my journey to this place. I propose remaining the *Carnival*, more to learn Italian than anything else, for I have an excellent master, who comes to me twice a day. The amusements here are as yet but moderate, as the Carnival is not yet begun. We have two different operas, and three comedys. I make no doubt but in the Carnival that the balls will make it much more agreeable than it is at present. I went through Vienne, though I staid but a very little time there. I left Lord Pembroke there, and several more, who propose staying the winter; his Lordship proposed coming with me here, but likes the place he is in so well, so resolved to remain there for some time.

[9] Thomas Villiers, second son of William, 2nd Earl of Jersey, having married Charlotte Capel, eldest daughter of William, 3rd Earl of Essex, by Jane Hyde, daughter and co-heir of Henry the last Earl of Clarendon (she was co-heir to her mother), was created Baron Hyde of Hindon in 1756, with a special remainder, and Earl of Clarendon, June 14th, 1776. See his letters and note subjoined, *post*, Chapter VI.

[1] Query, you.

[2] Travelling-tutor or bear-leader. In the present instance, however, it seems the young bear would neither lead nor drive.

I imagine you have been at Venise, so I need give you no account of the town ; indeed, for the curiosities of the place, I have not yet seen them, the weather here has been so cold and bad. I see every day at the Ridotto a great deal of play, but without being tempted, for I have not touched a card since my arrival, and design continuing in that resolution.

I shall not take up your time any more at present, but will, now and then, if you will give me leave, trouble you with a letter, which I beg you will not answer, but when you are quite at leisure, or have nothing better to do.

Pray give me leave to add my compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Dayrolles, who, I hope, are in perfect health.

If you will honour me with a letter here, direct to Mr. Smith. If you hear of any English coming to Venise, be so good as to direct them to the house I am at, according to the enclosed directions, for it is not only the best lodging in Venise, but he is likewise the best cook, and very civil. He was cook in the Chevalier Grey's house when he was in Venise, and now has bought or hired a house, and lets lodgings.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ESSEX.

AND. MITCHELL, ESQ.

Avviso.

Alli signori forastieri. Pietro Daima tiene in Venezia un buono, e decentissimo Albergo in Contrà di

S. Giovan grisostomo sopra il Canal Grande, alla casa Nuova delle due Terragge. Ha proprissimi apartementi capaci di allogiar qualunque Signor Forastiere. Egli impiegn ogni industria ed attenzione perché sieno ben serviti qui Signori, chi li farrano l'onore di alloggiar da lui.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Findlater.

My dear Lord, *London, 18th January, 1755.*

I had the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 4th, but could not possibly answer it before I left Edinburgh, which was last Monday morning, and I arrived here last night before five o'clock ; the roads were not so bad as I expected.

This morning I waited on the Duke of Newcastle and took the earliest opportunity of stating to him the affair of the sheriffship in the best and strongest manner. His Grace gave all the attention I could wish. He appeared to me vexed, and uneasy, and said, there were occasions when friends should yield to one another, and that this was one of them, that your Lordship knew the regard he had ever had for you. He told me he had seen your letter to the Chancellor, and then entered into a detail of circumstances, some of which are of such a nature that I am convinced could they be communicated to you, your Lordship would without hesitation give up for this turn your pretension to the sheriffship ; and the doing of this with good humor and yielding in an amicable way to the necessities of your friends will not only be taken very kindly by

them, but will be doing them real service at this juncture; on the contrary, the insisting longer upon this affair, or showing any disgust, will hurt your best friends, and the cause you have long been labouring to serve.

You will pardon the freedom I take: you cannot mistake my motive. I hope your Lordship is recovered, now, so well as to be able to travel, and your presence here is necessary, and cannot fail of being useful. My most sincere and respectful compliments to my Lady, and pray answer this letter as soon as may be; your early compliance will double the favour, and the thing cannot now be saved.

From the Earl of Findlater and Seafield to Andrew Mitchell, Esq., M.P., Pall Mall, London.

DEAR SIR, *Cullen House, March 8th,* 1755.

About ten days ago I received yours of February 15th, which I would have acknowledged without delay, had you not given me ground to expect that I would hear from you soon again, and on Thursday last I received your letter of February 22nd, which I would have answered yesterday had I not been employed the whole day in despatching orders to my deputies in consequence of one I had received from the Lords of the Admiralty. I am very glad to know that our preparations at sea are in so good forwardness, which I consider as one very great article towards securing our own safety, and also very useful for

making our enemies cautious in giving us great offence. I cannot doubt but proper care will be taken for the defence of all the parts of his Majesty's dominions, and particularly I hope that the necessary precautions for preserving the tranquility of this northern part of our island will not be neglected. I can assure you it needs more attention than some people imagine. It gives me great pleasure that the offices of sheriffs are to be continued during his Majesty's pleasure. I think it was wrong that ever any hint was allowed in an Act of Parliament to make it otherwise. Several of the great people know how zealous I was in my private conversations against inserting that clause, and that I have often since that time put them in mind of the necessity of repealing it. I excuse some English people, who from a false theory may think they oppose the repeal on revolution principles; but, indeed, I can scarcely excuse Scots people that ought to know this country, and yet say they oppose the repeal on that foundation. I have conversed with many Scotch gentlemen on the subject, and you know my intimacy is mostly with those who are zealous for the preservation of the revolution establishment, and I never heard one of them say that that clause ought not to be simply repealed. What harm might not a Jacobite sheriff for life do? And yet such an one might be made by mistake, or for a job. For we have not only open Jacobitism, but also what is called Oxford honesty amongst us. What clamour, as well as hurt, might not an unjust, partial, sheriff for life occasion, seeing the

property of the low, poor people, who are not able for the expense of the Court of Session, would be entirely in his hands. The case is quite different with regard to the Judges of the higher courts, but I have been too long on the subject.

It gives me great pleasure to hear that the behaviour of my friend my Lord Advocate is so much approven. From the knowledge I have of his good principles, his genius and ability, I am well convinced that the longer he is known at London he will be the better liked.

* * * * *

I am now again pretty well in my health though I seldom go out in this bad weather for fear of making my ailments return. The town thanks you for the newspaper. I am well pleased that you assisted Skinner, though his connection is with my son rather than with me, as his people live on my son's part of our estate. I cannot allow myself to think the Duke of Newcastle will break his prior engagements to me, and do a thing that would be using me so very ill in the most public manner. Surely I do not deserve it at his hands. One thing I am sure of, that all his Majesty's firmest friends are on my side of the question; they know my behaviour, and likewise that of the other family.

Most affectionately and sincerely, yours,

FINDLATER AND SEAFIELD.

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ., M.P.

I have just received yours of the 1st. The post is in such a hurry to be gone I have scarce time to thank

you for it. I wish the repeal could have been a simple one instead of any temporary suspension. However, the longer that suspension is the better; the chief reasons against the clause will always exist. As for the underhand dealing you hint at, it is no surprise to me. The ministers ought to use the better those who do not deal in that way with them.

The two following letters are from the Earl of Granard to Mr. Mitchell.

DEAR SIR, *Spa, 6th September*, 1752.

I think myself happy not to have left this place when I intended, because it would have deprived me of the pleasure of embracing you once more at Brussels. I am extremely obliged by your kind offer, but think it more convenient for both not to lodge with you, and hope you will excuse me. I made your compliments to Lord Winchelsea, and desired he would to my Lady as I have gone into no company here, the utmost of my wishes being to preserve the few friends I love and like, and never to need making new. I wish the Conferences may last as long as Brussels is agreeable to you, but imagine the projects must be agreed on in other places before they can there. * * * * * The company here was considerable from the Empire, France, Denmark, Prussia, and Holland; but I did not hear of any politicks. * * * I drink water and ride every morning. Riding, I think, has done me good; the water, neither good nor harm;

but I 'll trespass no more on your time, hoping soon for the pleasure of seeing you. My family assure you of their constant respect, and I am with all my heart, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

GRANARD.

Spa, 6th September, 1755.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry we have not better news, but though a *battel* lost has ill consequences, I trust our other two Generals will have better success in attempts as they and their troops have a perfect knowledge of the country, though I apprehend that the French have the advantage of us *dans la guerre de partis*, but as they have had their revenge, and as things are now equal, and that winter is at hand, mediating powers, and lovers of mankind will find expedients before spring for putting the affair in way of mediation, and heartily wish you a good share in so good a work. The melancholy account I had of my son from Italy, and of his resolution of returning to Aix la Chapel if able, determined me to cross the water to see him. My constant disorders, and this additional disturbance of mind, rendered me unfit to appear at Brussels, therefore hope you 'll not be out of humour with me, for I 'm more out of humour with myself than any one. I live incapable of performing the duties of life to those I love and esteem the most. The Admiral is with me, and within a little while as well recovered as

I think he ever can be. He desires to pass the remainder of the winter at Aix la Chapel, hoping those baths may do him good, and I am far from saying anything to take from him that only comfort of the unhappy.

The Admiral is very much obliged by your remembrance, and assures you of his best respects. I 'm incapable of giving those proofs of mine I wish to do, but am, with the greatest regard and inclination,

Dear Sir,

Your devoted humble servant,

GRANARD.[3]

In consequence of William Grant the Lord Advocate for Scotland being made a Lord of Session and Justiciary in Scotland, a new writ was ordered for the Elgin burghs, December 2nd, 1754, and Mitchell was returned for that district of burghs, for which he continued to sit in three successive Parliaments till his death, January 28th, 1771.[4]

In 1756 Mitchell was appointed his Majesty's Envoy to the King of Prussia, then on the point of being engaged in the memorable Seven Years' War. This proved a service of no ordinary danger as well as importance, a service that exposed the ambassador to the perils, fatigues, and hardships of war, in addition

[3] These letters are all published from the original MSS. at Fintray House. But as I have stated generally in the Preface what seems necessary to establish the authenticity of these papers, I shall not make any further special references.

[4] Beatson's Parliamentary Register, vol. ii., p. 399.

to the ordinary labours and duties of his office; for, by the express order of the King his master, Mitchell accompanied Frederic in all his campaigns, and was by his side throughout the whole of some of his hottest and hardest fought battles, (as, for instance, the sanguinary battle of Zorndorff, in which, to use his own words, the balls fell around them like a shower of hail), and though a civilian, was under more fire, and saw more of the reality of war on its largest scale, than many a man who has written himself Field Marshal.

CHAPTER V.

CAUSES OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, AND CHARACTER OF FREDERIC II. OF PRUSSIA, AND OF THE PRUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AT THAT TIME.

It will be necessary here to say something respecting the nature and origin of that war which was the immediate cause of Mitchell's mission to the Court of Berlin.

The Germans are represented by Cæsar and Tacitus as the most free of ancient nations, and the evidence derived from other sources appears to favour the same conclusion. Any one whose mind retains any impression of the descriptions of the freedom and independence of the ancient Germans, or even Anglo-Saxons, must be struck with the contrast which presents itself when he looks again at the same scene about the beginning of the 18th century. Of those assemblies of freemen, in which, among the ancient Germans, the affairs of the nation were debated, not a vestige remained. There was no independence even among the nobility. Certain families, under various titles, had absorbed, in the various districts into which Germany had been divided, the whole of the sovereign power. The bulk of the population was reduced to the condition of feudal villeins or serfs. It will contribute greatly to the understanding

of the politics of Europe during the last century, to keep in mind that Europe, except Great Britain, was parcelled out among a certain number of families with its inhabitants as *villeins regardant* or soil-bound serfs, whose interests were no more considered in the various wars, treaties, alliances, made by the above-mentioned families, than if they had been cattle. At that time a certain portion of Northern Germany, called Brandenburg, had for its sovereigns a younger branch of the House of Hohenzollern.

The first of this family who figured in the rank of Kings was Frederic the First, the grandfather of him whose name the seven years' war has made so famous. It has been said, perhaps truly, that, but for this man's vanity and extreme fondness for parade,[5] which led him to desire and obtain the title of King, his grandson, Frederic the Second, would not have made such efforts to aggrandize and distinguish his fire-new Kingship. However this may be, we find the descendants of some of those free and high-spirited Germans of Cæsar and Tacitus ruled by Frederic William, the son of this new made small King,[6] with a ferocious despotism for which

[5] Thiebault tells the following anecdote illustrative of Frederic the First's character, or, at least, of his wife's opinion of him. Leibnitz having sent her a memoir on the *infinitely little*, she exclaimed, "What a blockhead is this Leibnitz, who thinks he can explain to me the nature of the *infinitely little!* Has he then forgotten that I am the wife of Frederic the First, or does he imagine me unacquainted with the character of my husband?" She was the second wife of Frederic, the mother of Frederic William, and sister of George I.

[6] The following account of the origin of the Prussian monarchy is from the admirable article on "Frederic the Great," in the 151st No. of the Edinburgh Review, an article which appears to me the most perfect composition that has yet come from the pen of its accomplished author. "The Prussian monarchy,

he who would find a parallel must go to the interior of Africa. Such was the ardour with which this man set to work to turn the human live stock of his estates to

the youngest of the great European states, but in population and revenue the fifth amongst them, and in art, science, and civilisation entitled to the third, if not to the second place, sprang from a humble origin. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, the marquisate of Brandenburg was bestowed by the Emperor Sigismund on the noble family of Hohenzollern. In the sixteenth century that family embraced the Lutheran doctrines. Early in the seventeenth century it obtained from the King of Poland the investiture of the duchy of Prussia. Even after this accession of territory, the chiefs of the house of Hohenzollern hardly ranked with the electors of Saxony and Bavaria. The soil of Brandenburg was for the most part sterile. Even round Berlin, the capital of the province, and round Potsdam, the favourite residence of the Margraves, the country was a desert. In some tracts, the deep sand could with difficulty be forced by assiduous tillage to yield thin crops of rye and oats. In other places, the ancient forests, from which the conquerors of the Roman empire had descended on the Danube, remained untouched by the hand of man. Where the soil was rich it was generally marshy, and its insalubrity repelled the cultivators whom its fertility attracted. Frederic William, called the Great Elector, was the prince to whose policy his successors have agreed to ascribe their greatness. He acquired by the peace of Westphalia several valuable possessions, and among them the rich city and district of Magdeburg; and he left to his son Frederic a principality as considerable as any which was not called a kingdom.

"Frederic aspired to the style of royalty. Ostentatious and profuse, negligent of his true interests and of his high duties, insatiably eager for frivolous distinctions, he added nothing to the real weight of the state which he governed: perhaps he transmitted his inheritance to his children impaired rather than augmented in value, but he succeeded in gaining the great object of his life, the title of King. In the year 1700 he (Frederic I.) assumed this new dignity. He had on that occasion to undergo all the mortifications which fall to the lot of ambitious upstarts. Compared with the other crowned heads of Europe, he made a figure resembling that which a nabob or a commissary, who had bought a title, would make in the company of peers whose ancestors had been attainted for treason against the Plantagenets. The envy of the class which he quitted, and the civil scorn of the class into which he intruded himself, were marked in very significant ways. The Elector of Saxony at first refused to acknowledge the new Majesty. Louis the Fourteenth looked down on his brother king with an air not unlike that with which the Count in Molière's play regards Monsieur Jourdain just fresh from the mummery of being made a gentleman. Austria exacted large sacrifices in return for her recognition, and at last gave it ungraciously."—Art. "*Frederic the Great*," in the Edinburgh Review, No. 151.

account, making soldiers for life of an unexampled proportion of the lower orders of the Prussians, and subjecting them to treatment, under the name of military discipline, of the most inhuman description ; coarse and insufficient food, disagreeable and insufficient clothing, and the most barbarous punishments for slight offences, (blows with a heavy cane for the most trifling mistake in handling their arms), that, ground down as the poor Germans had been before, the consternation was so general, that nothing was talked of but leaving the country, and a great number of families actually put their threat into execution. Many men cut off one or more of the fingers of their right hand to be freed from the power of the recruiting officer. Besides this the practice of kidnapping foreigners was carried on to a great extent by this worthy prince and his successor ; a Prussian recruiting party taking as much liberty with whomsoever they could entrap, no matter what his nation, character, or profession, as an English press gang with English merchant seamen during the war.

This man died, and as he was succeeded by his son, a King who kept soldiers for use not for show, the sufferings of the Prussian soldiers were greatly increased. The feelings of the Prussian soldiers, the mere machine created by a merciless, soul-crushing despotism, and so different from those of the warlike enthusiasts who followed, at least the early career of Cromwell and Napoleon, are vividly described by Frederic himself in the following anecdote related by Thiebault. During a review of sixty thousand men, in Pomerania, he asked

the old Prince d'Anhalt what, in the scene before them, he admired the most. "Sire," replied he, "I admire at once the fine appearance of the men, the regularity and perfection of the movements, and the evolutions." To this Frederic replied: "What most excites my astonishment is that you and I, my dear cousin, should be in the midst of such an army as this in perfect safety: here are sixty thousand men, who are all irreconcilable enemies to both you and myself; not one among them that is not a man of more strength and better armed than either of us, yet they all tremble at our presence. Such is the wonderful effect of order, vigilance, and determination."

On the death of Frederic William, in 1740, his son, Frederic the Second, inherited, together with his kingdom, a well-filled treasury, and a large and well-organised army, which, as events soon showed, he only waited for a favourable opportunity to employ for his own aggrandisement. It had long been a favourite measure with Sir Robert Walpole to allay the jealousy and dislike subsisting between the Houses of Brunswick and Brandenburg. He now succeeded in overcoming the pertinacity of George II., and a plan of a grand confederacy against the House of Bourbon, of which the King of Prussia was to be the soul, was formed by his brother, Horace Walpole, and submitted to the King.[7] But while this measure was in agitation, the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, and of the

[7] Coxe's Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole, vol. i., pp. 639, 640.

Czarina, totally changed the aspect of affairs. In virtue of the Pragmatic sanction, by which Charles VI. had aimed at securing his dominions to his female heirs, in default of male issue, Maria Theresa, his eldest daughter, succeeded to the whole Austrian inheritance. She was acknowledged by all the powers of Europe (with the exception of the Elector of Bavaria, who alone had refused to guarantee the succession of the female line), and hoped to be able to raise her husband, Francis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the imperial throne, so long filled by her ancestors. In the meantime the King of Prussia set up an antiquated claim to part of Silesia, and in support of his pretensions, led an army in the depth of winter into that province. He was favourably received by the Protestants, who formed two-thirds of the inhabitants, occupied Breslau, the capital, and several other towns, without the smallest resistance, and defeated an Austrian army at Molwitz. The British Cabinet attempted to persuade Maria Theresa to purchase the friendship of Frederic by the sacrifice of a small portion of her territories, but the Queen of Hungary peremptorily rejected all proposals of accommodation. However, after a good deal of fighting, in which her forces had the worst of it, she at last reluctantly acquiesced in the King of Prussia's demands.

There cannot now, we believe, be much question that the claim of Frederic to Silesia was supported on no better ground than that of an armed highwayman to the purse of an unarmed traveller. The difference is one

only of degree, the difference namely between one brace of pistols and some fifty thousand muskets, with a due proportion of larger guns. From a tolerably extensive perusal of the contemporary diplomatic correspondence and the state papers, we can say that this was the almost universal opinion of contemporary statesmen. Indeed, according to Voltaire, even Frederic himself, in his history of that conquest, frankly avowed that ambition and interest, together with favouring circumstances, were his inducement for attacking the territories of the Queen of Hungary, though Voltaire, in afterwards correcting his Majesty's works, made him strike out the passage, which, however, is so curious, as together with Voltaire's observations on it, to be worth transcribing.

"Il a ècrit depuis l'histoire de cette conquête ; il me l' a montrée tout entière. Voici un des articles curieux du debut de ces annales ; j'eus soin de le transcrire de préférence, comme un monument unique.

"'Que l'on joigne à ces considérations, des troupes toujours prêtes d'agir, mon épargne bien remplie, et la vivacité de mon caractère ; c'étaient les raisons que j'avais de faire la guerre à Marie-Thérèse, reine de Bohême et de Hongrie.' Et quelques lignes ensuite, il y avait ces propres mots : 'L'ambition, l'intérêt, le désir de faire parler de moi, l'emportèrent ; et la guerre fut résolue.'

"Depuis qu'il y a des conquérants ou des esprits ardens qui ont voulu l'être, je crois qu'il est le premier qui se soit ainsi rendu justice. Jamais homme peut-être n'a plus senti la raison, et n'a plus écouté ses

passions. Ces assemblages de philosophie et de déréglemens d'imagination ont toujours composé son caractère. C'est dommage que je lui aie fait retrancher ce passage quand je corrigeai depuis tous ses ouvrages : un aveu si rare devait passer à la postérité, et servir à faire voir sur quoi sont fondées presque toutes les guerres. Nous autres gens de lettres, poètes, historiens, déclamateurs d'académie, nous célébrons ces beaux exploits : et voilà un roi qui les fait, et qui les condamne." [8]

In a dispatch, dated Berlin 29th of November and 3rd of December, 1740, Mr. Guy Dickens, the English Ambassador, says, "Nobody here, great or small, dares make any representation to this young prince against the measures he is pursuing, though they are all sensible of the confusion which must follow. A prince who had

[8] Mémoires pour servir à la vie de M. de Voltaire écrits par luimême. The passage as the King has left it in his history is scarcely less conclusive than Voltaire's commentary on it. After dismissing in one word "incontestable," the nature of his claims upon Silesia (he does not descend into particulars here) and then expatiating upon the dilapidated state of the Austrian finances, the general disorders and weakness of the ministry and the army, and above all the youth and inexperience of the Queen Maria Theresa and her unprotected condition, he says: "Ajoutez a ces raisons une armée toute prête à agir, des fonds tout trouvés, et peutêtre l'envie de se faire un nom ; tout cela fut cause de la guerre que le Roi déclara à Marie Thérèse d'Autriche, Reine de Hongrie et de Bohème."—Histoire de Mon Temps, tom. i., p. 128, ed. Berlin, 1788. The following passage of a letter from Frederic to Voltaire, dated from the camp of Strelen, 25th June, 1741, gives a picture of some at least of the immediate consequences of this conquest of Silesia to the Silesians themselves. "Nos houssards sont les héros de la pièce pendant l'intermède, tandis que les ambassadeurs me haranguent, qu'on fait les Silesiens cocus, &c." Another consequence to the Silesians was a great increase of taxation. At least it yielded to Frederic double what it had done to Austria ; though this might in part be owing to better management.

the least regard to honour, truth, and justice, could not act the part he is going to do. But it is plain his only view was, to deceive us, and to conceal, for a while, his ambitious and mischievous designs."

In his private correspondence, about the same time, the King himself avows that it was something very different from the mere desire to vindicate any just right which impelled him to march an army into Silesia. The following passages from his correspondence with Jordan, which have already been published by M. Von Raumer,[9] fully prove this; "Behold me, at length, in one of the fairest situations of my life, and in conjunctures which may lay solid foundation for my reputation. Let the envious and the ignorant talk; my plans will never be guided by them, but by glory. I love war, for the sake of glory; but if I were not a prince, I should be only a philosopher. In short, in this world everybody must follow his trade, and I have a fancy to resolve to do nothing by halves. My age, the fire of the passions, the desire of glory, even curiosity, to conceal nothing from you, in a word, a secret instinct, have snatched me from the charms of repose which I enjoyed; and the satisfaction of seeing my name in the gazettes, and, in the sequel, in history, has seduced me. But for this cursed desire of glory, I assure you that I should think only of my tranquillity. What are fatigue, illness, and dangers, in comparison with glory?

[9] Frederick II. and his Times, p. 55. The passages, which we have compared with the original, are to be found in Frederic's Ouvres Posthumes, tom. viii., pp. 154, 155, 161, 163, 164, 210.

It is so mad a passion that I cannot conceive why it does not turn the brains of everybody."

Some time before the death of his father, Frederic had written a work against the principles of Machiavel, called "Anti-Machiavel." Voltaire says, that, though the first thing Machiavel would have recommended to a prince, whom he had for a disciple, would have been to write against him, yet Frederic wrote with perfect sincerity at the time he was not a sovereign; while he was assembling his troops for the invasion of Silesia, none of his ministers or generals could penetrate his design, and it was believed that he was about to declare against France, in favour of Maria Theresa. Voltaire says, that he more than any one was bound to believe this, for Frederic had sent him, three months before, a political writing after his fashion, in which he regarded France as the natural enemy and plunderer of Germany. "But," adds Voltaire, "it was in his nature to do always exactly the contrary of what he said and wrote, not from dissimulation, but because he wrote and spoke with one kind of enthusiasm, and then acted with another." But we should like much to have heard Voltaire's explanation of the following phenomenon, namely, that while he was in the most complimentary correspondence with him (Voltaire), he bestowed on him, in conversation with Mitchell, the epithets of "the worst heart and the greatest rascal now living."[1]

[1] Mitchell Papers. Voltaire was not behind his Majesty in insincerity here. For at the very time he was writing letters to Frederic, filled with the most

Perhaps, even here, Voltaire's hypothesis will go a good way towards explaining the apparent contradiction : for Frederic undoubtedly had an enthusiasm, and a very extraordinary enthusiasm for Voltaire as a *writer*, while the opinion he expressed of him to Mitchell, was his estimate of him as a *man;* an estimate which many will, we think, be inclined to consider no bad proof of that strong and sound understanding which, whatever may be thought either of his heart or his imagination, will generally be conceded to Frederic. After all that has been said and written however on both sides, we come to the conclusion that of the moral part of Frederic's nature we cannot think highly. The good that may have ultimately resulted to Germany from what he did in war and peace, was an ulterior result which he did not contemplate in his first aggressions upon his neighbours. The gigantic exhibition both of unconquerable resolution and military genius which he made during the Seven Years' War, were not made in reality for the defence either of Germany or of Europe against the encroaching ambition of France, or of the Protestant faith against the assault of Romanism, as the splendid declamation of Chatham might lead us to believe, but for his own existence as an independent power in Europe, an existence which had been endangered by his own unprincipled ambition. Our business here is not with the private life of Frederic, but we greatly fear that a scrutiny of that would hardly

fulsome compliments, he usually designated him in his correspondence by a word which implied a charge of the most infamous description.

compensate for what may be wanting in his public morality. Let us pass on to the intellectual part of his character.

Unquestionably Frederic's fame rests on his merits as a man of action, as a warrior, and as a statesman, rather than as a philosopher and a writer. Yet in the last character we think justice has hardly been done to him. Admitting to the full the badness of his verses, they seem to exhibit the character of the man in another light besides that of a bad poet. The calmness and presence of mind were wonderful, which could allow him to write so many even bad verses, at a time when his affairs were becoming so desperate, that he contemplated death as the only refuge from dishonour, and carried poison constantly about with him in case the worst should happen and he did not meet death in the field. Even Voltaire admits this, and admits also, that among the many bad verses there were some good. However, as he said himself, he often wrote for his own amusement and relaxation, and not for the public. In a letter to Voltaire of May 1st, 1760, he says : "Je vous ai envoyé mon Charles XII : je n'en ai fait tirer que douze exemplaires que j'ai donnés à mes amis. Il ne m'en est resté aucun. C'est encore de ce genre d'ouvrages qui sont bons dans de petites sociétés, mais qui ne sont pas faits pour le public. Je suis un *dilettante* en tout genre ; je puis dire mon sentiment sur les grands maitres ; je peux vous juger, et avoir mon opinion du merite de *Virgile ;* mais je ne suis pas fait pour le dire en public, parceque je n'ai pas atteint à la

perfection de l'art. Que je me trompe ou non, ma société indulgente relèvera mes bévues et me pardonnera; il n'en est pas de même du public; il faut être plus circonspect en écrivant pour lui que pour ses amis. Mes ouvrages sont comme ces propos de table où l'on pense tout haut, où l'on parle sans se gêner, et où l'on ne se formalise point d'être contredit.

"Lorsque j'ài quelques momens de reste, la démangeaison d'écrire me prend; je ne me refuse pas ce léger plaisir; cela m'amuse, me dissipe, et me rend ensuite plus disposé au travail dont je suis chargé."

All this may be true enough; but then it does not apply to such works as his "Histoire de Mon Temps," which was avowedly written if not for "the public" of his own time, for that of after times, and of some of the shortcomings of which we happen to be in a condition to judge. If human nature were not full of such inconsistencies, we might say it was strange or curious to see a writer in his "avant-propos," dilating on the worthlessness of history by reason of the general want of correct information in the writers of it, (a fact, about which there can be no dispute), and then writing the account he has done of the state of England under the administration of Walpole,[2] which contains about as many mis-statements or mistakes as it does lines, certainly more than it does sentences. Such a mode of dealing with and of estimating the value of evidence, or rather of confidently stating a series of conclusions grounded on no evidence at all, or evidence of the most

[2] Histoire de Mon Temps, tom. i., pp. 48—52, Berlin, 1788.

imperfect kind,[3] proves that this great general and able administrator altogether wanted that earnest and undeviating love of truth which leads a man to a patient, laborious, and discriminating, as well as honest and candid investigation of the evidence upon which he is to ground his conclusions, and which is essential to the character of a great philosopher, and we may add of a truly great man.

Nevertheless, after all deductions have been made on this score, and also keeping in view that Frederic wrote in a foreign language over which he was far from having a perfect mastery,[4] that mastery which can

[3] He appears to have altogether overlooked the fact that the value of history written by a contemporary is confined to the history of those transactions in which the contemporary was personally engaged, and that any scribbler, who had access to the newspapers and party pamphlets of the day, could have written as good a history of Walpole's, and probably of Fleury's, and many other contemporary administrations, as the King of Prussia, for his untrustworthiness, which we have the means of testing in this instance, makes us doubt him in all cases where he had not the *best* means of information, and *no* inducement to misstate facts.

[4] He never even learnt to spell it with tolerable accuracy. But his knowledge of the ancient languages was much smaller. The strange specimen of his Latinity at the end of "Reflexions sur les talents militaires de Charles XII. Roy de Swede" has already been mentioned (see Preface). In one of his postscripts to his letters to Mitchell, which postscripts generally contain the cream of the letter, and have the advantage of being autographs, he talks of "*Cesart*" and "*Catton*." He terminates a letter to Voltaire (21 June, 1760), with the following characteristic sentence: "O tempus! O mores! Vous voyez que je n'oublie pas mon Latin." The reader may probably think with us that, if these are specimens, either his memory was treacherous or it had a very small modicum of Latin to burthen it. But indeed it could take no great effort of memory to prevent Frederic from forgetting all the Latin he ever knew.

It seems worth notice that the expression which a powerful and original writer of the present day has applied to Napoleon, calling him the "Newton of war," was applied by Frederic (in his younger days) to a very different sort of person, the Maréchal de Bellisle. In a letter to Voltaire, dated from the camp of Molvitz, the 13th May, 1741, he says: "J'ai vu et beaucoup entretenu le Maréchal de Bellisle, qui sera dans tout pays ce que l'on appelle

alone insure vitality to writing, and which no writer can hope to possess who writes in any but his mother tongue, his own "land's language," it must still be admitted that Frederic, as a writer, possessed no ordinary qualifications. His letters, particularly those to Voltaire, are often written with much wit and point, sometimes interspersed with observations worthy of the great King and warrior; and in others of his works, particularly his History of the Seven Years' War, he writes with a clearness and brevity not unworthy of Cæsar himself. There is much too of the strength which hides itself under urbanity, at least under conventional polish or politeness. When he has occasion to mention some one of whom he entertains an unfavourable opinion, for example the Duke of Cumberland

un tres-grand homme. C'est un Newton pour le moins en fait de guerre." However, there is abundant proof that this great practical logician (notwithstanding his respect for Newton and Leibnitz) regarded mathematical studies and pursuits with dislike and contempt. In a letter to Voltaire, dated 16th May, 1749, he says: J'aime les arts par la raison qu'en donne Cicéron. Je ne m'élève point aux sciences par la raison que les belles-lettres sont utiles en tout temps, et qu'avec tout l'algèbre du monde, on n'est souvent qu'un sot lorsqu'on ne sait pas autre chose. Peut-être dans dix ans la société tirera-t-elle de l'avantage des courbes que des songe-creux d'algébristes auront quarrées laborieusement. J'en félicite d'avance la postérité; mais, à vous parler vrai, je ne vois dans tous ces calculs, qu'une scientifique extravagance. Tout ce qui n'est ni utile ni agréable, ne vaut rien. Quant aux choses utiles, elles sont toutes trouvées; et pour les agréables, j'espère que le bon goût n'y admettra point d'algèbre."

Again, writing on the 7th July, 1770, he says: "Un essaim de géomètres mirmidons persécute déjà les belles-lettres, en leur prescrivant des lois pour les dégrader. Que n'arrivera-t-il pas lorsqu'elles manqueront de leur unique appui, et lorsque de froids imitateurs de votre beau génie s'efforceront en vain de vous remplacer? Dieu me garde de n'avoir pour amusement que de courtes et arides solutions de problèmes plus ennuyeux encore qu'inutiles."

Again, on the 17th December, 1777: "Je ne dis rien de messieurs les géomètres qui carrent étionellement des courbes inutiles: je les laisse avec leurs points sans étendue et leurs lignes sans profondeur."

or the Earl of Bute, he condenses into a few words, which have the appearance of flowing from his pen only casually and as if *en passant* to a subject more worthy of attention, a sarcasm which carries within it pages, nay, volumes of reprobation.

In a recent German publication (Count Henckel von Donnersmarck's Reminiscences), Prince Henry of Prussia is represented as speaking of his brother Frederic in the following terms : "Believe me, my brother Frederic does not possess true courage. To give you an example ; at the battle of Rossbach, he rode away from the field." Is there not some confusion here between Rossbach and Molwitz ? At the battle of Molwitz, the first battle in which Frederic was engaged, he certainly did ride away from the field.[5] But if he had been given to a repetition of such conduct, he never could have done what he did, and at Rossbach everything was owing to his able manœuvring. Moreover, the testimony of his brother Henry is to be taken with considerable caution. In a letter, dated 19th December, 1757, Mitchell thus speaks of him : "The Prince is very vain and hates his brother, of whose greatness he is jealous. At the same time he has talents, but more cunning than real parts, and French to the bone." However, Mitchell we believe, as will appear from his dispatches, afterwards changed his opinion of Prince Henry to a more favourable one, and Prince Henry appears to have entertained a real esteem

[5] Of that early period of his career Frederic himself thus speaks: "Le lecteur aura remarqué sans doute dans le récit de cette ouverture de campagne, que c'était à qui ferait le plus de fautes, du Roi ou du Maréchal Neuperg."—Hist. de Mon Temps, tom. i., p. 165.

and regard for Mitchell. However, even assuming (and besides the above reported assertion of his brother, there are one or two circumstances in his history that favour the assumption) that Frederick the Second had not that conformation of nerve which is supposed to produce a physical insensibility to danger, we must only on that account the more admire the force of the intrepid intellect and adamantine will which could make nature itself bend before them. The triumph of mind over matter only becomes the more apparent and striking ; and we are inclined to think that in some of these great commanders (such as Cæsar and Napoleon), in whom, as in other men of powerful intellect, the mind has been most active and predominant, there was by no means, at least originally, the physical insensibility to danger which may be seen in the greatest perfection in such animals as the bull-dog, animals certainly in which the cerebral development, or in other words, the predominance of mind over matter, is not observable in any very high degree.

The consideration of the character of Frederic suggests a curious and not unimportant question—how far is the crafty part of it, amounting to breach of faith, essential to the character of a great general ? It is certain that no man can be a great general without possessing the ability to conceal his designs from his enemy ; and in doing this he must deal largely in that species of lying which is termed in the English Court of Chancery *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*, and there are two men, at least, in the first rank among

generals in modern times, Frederic and Napoleon, who carried their violation of faith and truth beyond even this, and that not in war merely, but in their general dealings. In ancient times too, we fear very eminent instances might be cited of habitual faithlessness in successful commanders. Nevertheless, that breach of faith is not essential to the character of a great and most successful soldier, we have an illustrious living example in the Duke of Wellington. We have here an instance of a man cautious and skilful in the highest degree to conceal from an enemy what the success of the enterprise requires to be concealed, yet scrupulously guarding against crooked policy in the matter of peace. There is a class of small politicians who seem to imagine that the normal condition of society is Hobbes's "state of war, of every man against every man," and who never have any dealings with any man without attempting to circumvent him, if not by a solid substantive lie by the other sort above referred to, which is morally the same. Those men live upon advantages obtained under false pretences, in the shape of broken promises and disappointed hopes. It is a consolation to think that, while hugging themselves on their own cleverness, and sneering at what they term the stupid, impracticable nature of those who persist in believing that words have a meaning, and that man should keep faith with man, they cannot call to their aid the example, afforded by the practice of the conqueror of Napoleon, who is known to be scrupulous in declaring that he gives no promise which he does not mean or is unable to perform.

Upon the whole, after all deductions have been made for his shortcomings as poet and philosopher, and looking at the intellectual rather than the moral part of his nature, we think that Frederic must be pronounced the most universal man of modern times. He exhibited that combination of the highest talents for action, with a capacity for speculation, and for the enjoyment of literary works of art, which, though it may be found in one or two of the greatest men of antiquity, particularly in him whom Lord Bacon has, we think, justly characterised as the greatest man of all antiquity, C. Julius Cæsar,[6] will be sought for in vain in modern times, except in Frederic. That he was a bad political economist, as well as a bad poet, we do not deny. But we think also that he has been correctly classed as at least *one* of the two greatest princes and soldiers of modern times,[7] and that he only wanted a mother tongue to have written prose inferior only to Cæsar's. Amid the many stories that have been told of his tyranny, his

[6] There is a remarkable stroke of policy which gives a higher idea of his genius than anything else we ever met with, related by Cæsar in the 1st book of his Commentaries de Bello Civili. Being about to lead his army into Spain to fight against Roman legions led by Roman generals, he wished to take every precaution to secure the fidelity of his soldiers and his officers. The following is the plan he hit upon, as described in his own words, and with his usual admirable clearness and brevity: "Simul a tribunis militum centurionibusque mutuas pecunias sumsit: has exercitui distribuit. Quo facto duas res consecutus est, quod pignore animos centurionum devinxit, et largitione redemit militum voluntates."—De Bello Civili, lib. i., cap. 39.

[7] We allude to Mr. Macaulay's observation where he is speaking of the battle of Colin. "It was the 18th of June, a day which, if the Greek superstition still retained its influence, would be sacred to Nemesis, a day on which the two greatest princes and soldiers of modern times were taught, by a terrible experience, that neither skill nor valour can fix the inconstancy of Fortune."

meannesses, his intolerance of contradiction or criticism in his literary capacity, it is but justice to his memory to say that Mitchell, having been pressed by Frederic to give his opinion of a volume of his works which the King had given him, and having "praised with decency and without exaggeration, and blamed with freedom," declared to Lord Holdernesse that, "of all the authors he ever conversed with, the 'Philosophe de Sans Souci' bore criticism the best."[8]

We shall now endeavour to state shortly the causes of the Seven Years' War; and in doing this, what immediately concerns us here is—First. What brought the chief brunt of that war upon Prussia? Secondly, What involved England in it?

The first point does not need many words of explanation. It was hardly to be expected that the House of Austria would not make an attempt to recover Silesia, whenever a favourable opportunity should occur. The turning point which presented that opportunity, and determined Austria to attack Prussia, was her success in severing the connection between France and Prussia, and uniting France with herself. A defensive treaty was concluded between these two powers in 1756. They engaged to assist each other with all their forces, and never to make peace except by common consent. At the same time, the policy of the House of Austria to gain allies, joined to the general aversion entertained

[8] See this letter near the beginning of Chapter XII.

for the personal and political character of the King of Prussia, raised against Prussia a confederacy of more than half of Europe—for it was a confederacy composed of Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, a great part of Germany. In order to have some conception of what the man was, and what he did, it is necessary to look at a map of Europe, and observe the extent of the small territory from which he drew his resources, compared with that of the vast empires, the whole resources of which were exerted against him.

Of the immediate causes of the Seven Years' War, and of the position and prospects of Frederic at the commencement of it, the writer of the article on "Frederic the Great," in the 151st Number of the Edinburgh Review, already quoted, gives the following account, which is at once picturesque, eloquent, and comprehensive.

"The real motive which induced the great continental powers to forget their old animosities, and their old state maxims, was personal aversion to the King of Prussia. This feeling was strongest in Maria Theresa; but it was by no means confined to her. Frederic, in some respects a good master, was emphatically a bad neighbour. That he was hard in all dealings, and quick to all advantages, was not his most odious fault. His bitter and scoffing speech had inflicted keener wounds than his ambition. In his character of wit he was under less restraint than even in his character of ruler. Satirical verses against all the princes and ministers of

Europe were ascribed to his pen. In his letters and conversation he alluded to the greatest potentates of the age, in terms which would have better suited Collé in a war of repartee with young Crébillon at Pelletier's table, than a great sovereign speaking of great sovereigns. About women he was in the habit of expressing himself in a manner which it was impossible for the meekest of women to forgive ; and, unfortunately for him, almost the whole continent was then governed by women, who were by no means conspicuous for meekness. Maria Theresa herself had not escaped his scurrilous jests ; the Empress Elizabeth of Russia knew that her gallantries afforded him a favourite theme for ribaldry and invective ; Madame de Pompadour, who was really the head of the French Government, had been even more keenly galled. She had attempted, by the most delicate flattery, to propitiate the King of Prussia ; but her messages had drawn from him only dry and sarcastic replies. The Empress Queen took a very different course. Though the haughtiest of princesses, though the most austere of matrons, she forgot, in her thirst for revenge, both the dignity of her race and the purity of her character, and condescended to flatter the low-born and low-minded concubine, who, having acquired influence by prostituting herself, retained it by prostituting others. Maria Theresa actually wrote, with her own hand, a note, full of expressions of esteem and friendship, to her dear cousin, the daughter of the butcher Poisson, the wife of the publican D'Etioles, the kidnapper of young girls for

the Parc-aux-cerfs—a strange cousin for the descendant of so many Emperors of the West! The mistress was completely gained over, and easily carried her point with Louis, who had, indeed, wrongs of his own to resent. His feelings were not quick; but contempt, says the eastern proverb, pierces even through the shell of the tortoise; and neither prudence nor decorum had ever restrained Frederic from expressing his measureless contempt for the sloth, the imbecility, and the baseness of Louis. France was thus induced to join the coalition; and the example of France determined the conduct of Sweden, then completely subject to French influence.

"The enemies of Frederic were surely strong enough to attack him openly; but they were desirous to add to all their other advantages the advantage of a surprise. He was not, however, a man to be taken off his guard. He had tools in every court; and he now received from Vienna, from Dresden, and from Paris, accounts so circumstantial and so consistent, that he could not doubt of his danger. He learnt that he was to be assailed at once by France, Austria, Russia, Saxony, Sweden, and the Germanic body; that the greater part of his dominions was to be portioned out among his enemies; that France, which, from her geographical position, could not directly share in his spoils, was to receive an equivalent in the Netherlands; that Austria was to have Silesia, and the Czarina East Prussia; that Augustus of Saxony expected Magdeburg; and that Sweden would be rewarded with part of Pomerania. If these designs succeeded, the House

of Brandenburg would at once sink in the European system to a place lower than that of the Duke of Wurtemburg or the Margrave of Baden.

"And what hope was there that these designs would fail? No such union of the continental powers had been seen for ages. A less formidable confederacy had in a week conquered all the provinces of Venice, when Venice was at the height of power, wealth, and glory. A less formidable confederacy had compelled Louis the Fourteenth to bow down his haughty head to the very earth. A less formidable confederacy has, within our own memory, subjugated a still mightier empire, and abased a still prouder name. Such odds had never been heard of in war. The people whom Frederic ruled were not five millions. The population of the countries which were leagued against him amounted to a hundred millions. The disproportion in wealth was at least equally great. Small communities, actuated by strong sentiments of patriotism or loyalty, have sometimes made head against great monarchies, weakened by factions and discontents. But, small as was Frederic's kingdom, it probably contained a greater number of disaffected subjects than were to be found in all the states of his enemies. Silesia formed a fourth part of his dominions; and from the Silesians, born under Austrian princes, the utmost that he could expect was apathy. From the Silesian Catholics he could hardly expect anything but resistance.

"Some states have been enabled, by their geographical position, to defend themselves with advantage

against immense force. The sea has repeatedly protected England against the whole continent. The Venetian Government, driven from its possessions on the land, could still bid defiance to the confederates of Cambray, from the arsenal amidst the lagoons. More than one great and well-appointed army, which regarded the shepherds of Switzerland as an easy prey, has perished in the passes of the Alps. Frederic had no such advantage. The form of his states, their situation, the nature of the ground, all were against him. His long, scattered, straggling territory, seemed to have been shaped with an express view to the convenience of invaders, and was protected by no sea, by no chain of hills. Scarcely any corner of it was a week's march from the territory of the enemy. The capital itself, in the event of war, would be constantly exposed to insult. In truth, there was hardly a politician or a soldier in Europe who doubted that the conflict would be terminated, in a very few days, by the prostration of the House of Brandenburg.

"Nor was Frederic's own opinion very different. He anticipated nothing short of his own ruin, and of the ruin of his family. Yet there was still a chance, a slender chance, of escape. His states had, at least, the advantage of a central position; his enemies were widely separated from each other, and could not conveniently unite their overwhelming forces on one point. They inhabited different climates, and it was probable that the season of the year which would be best suited to the military operations of one portion of the league,

would be unfavourable to those of another portion. The Prussian monarchy, too, was free from some infirmities which were found in empires far more extensive and magnificent. Its effective strength for a desperate struggle was not to be measured merely by the number of square miles, or the number of people. In that spare but well-knit and well-exercised body, there was nothing but sinew, and muscle, and bone. No public creditors looked for dividends. No distant colonies required defence. No court, filled with flatterers and mistresses, devoured the pay of fifty battalions. The Prussian army, though far inferior in number to the troops which were about to be opposed to it, was yet strong out of all proportion to the extent of the Prussian dominions. It was also admirably trained and admirably officered; accustomed to obey and accustomed to conquer. The revenue was not only unincumbered by debt, but exceeded the ordinary outlay in time of peace. Alone, of all the European princes, Frederic had a treasure laid up for a day of difficulty. Above all, he was one, and his enemies were many. In their camps would certainly be found the jealousy, the dissension, the slackness inseparable from coalitions; on his side was the energy, the unity, the secresy of a strong dictatorship. To a certain extent, the deficiency of military means might be supplied by the resources of military art. Small as the king's army was, when compared with the six hundred thousand men whom the confederates could bring into the field, celerity of movement might, in some degree, compen-

sate for deficiency of bulk. It was thus just possible that genius, judgment, resolution, and good-luck united, might protract the struggle during a campaign or two; and to gain even a month was of importance. It could not be long before the vices which are found in all extensive confederacies would begin to show themselves. Every member of the league would think his own share of the war too large, and his share of the spoils too small. Complaints and recriminations would abound. The Turk might stir on the Danube; the statesmen of France might discover the error which they had committed in abandoning the fundamental principles of their national policy. Above all, death might rid Prussia of its most formidable enemies. The war was the effect of the personal aversion with which three or four sovereigns regarded Frederic; and the decease of any one of those sovereigns might produce a complete revolution in the state of Europe."

Under George II. England had the great misfortune to be governed by a King who possessed a love of but not a genius for war. Added to this calamity was another, namely, that this King had a son with a still greater taste for war and military matters than himself, and not much greater military genius. Sir Robert Walpole contrived to keep the King from the indulgence of this extremely expensive taste during his administration. But under the administration which succeeded his—that of Henry Pelham and his brother the Duke of Newcastle, (although Pelham was as averse

to the expenses of war as Walpole, whose pupil he was),[9] the Duke of Newcastle having the management of foreign affairs, and his great ambition being to keep his place as minister, found the only effective means which a person of his capacity had at his disposal for that purpose, was to gratify the King's humour for subsidiary treaties, and both the King and the Duke of Cumberland's for displaying their military talents in the field. The King was satisfied as regarded his personal exhibition with the battle of Dettingen, where, according to his nephew Frederic of Prussia's account of the matter, he put himself in the posture of a fencing master and flourished his sword.[1] With the solitary exception of Culloden, where the numbers were three to one, and the discipline and condition of the troops still more in his favour, (the poor Highlanders being almost completely worn out beforehand by fatigue and want of food in consequence of the mismanagement of their leaders), the Duke of Cumberland was uniformly unsuccessful as a general. On one occasion, where there was some risk of his being taken prisoner, the French said he was of much more use to them in his own camp than he would be as a prisoner in theirs. He is, however, said to have been a man of much

[9] Henry Pelham has been said to be a sort of Sir Robert Walpole on a smaller scale; it was indeed smaller—much smaller every way.

[1] Frederic William of Prussia (the father of Frederic II.) and George II., who were cousins and brothers in law, showed more discernment than might have been expected from them in their estimate of each other's character. George called Frederic William "my brother the corporal;" and Frederic William styled George "my cousin the dancing-master."

uprightness of character (*droiture*) and of a good understanding. If so, he must be allowed to have been most unfortunate as a general. And yet his course of failure was so uniform that we think Fortune can scarcely be called upon to bear all the burthen of it. One reverse or even two—as one success or two—may be attributed to Fortune ; but not a uniform, unbroken series, either of success or reverses.

Old Horace Walpole, (the brother of Sir Robert, who had been ambassador at Paris and the Hague), from the time that he saw war inevitable strenuously inculcated the necessity of forming an alliance with Prussia. Comparing the mode of managing matters then with that of King William and the Duke of Marlborough, he says, in a letter to Mr. Yorke dated June 1, 1745,[2]—"These two Generals never left the Hague, after the end of a campaign, without having concerted with the States the general scheme for the operations of the next, and settled the quotas necessary for the execution of it, as events should fall out ; and, the early meeting of Parliament (in October or beginning of November) having dispatched the supplies in good time, these Generals, but especially the Duke of Marlborough, when he went to Flanders at the end of April or the beginning of May, found an army ready prepared to take the field." In another letter dated May 29, 1745, to the Rev. Mr. Milling, Horace Walpole says,[3] "I know the character of that Prince

[2] Coxe's Memoirs of Lord Walpole, p. 286.
[3] Coxe's Lord Walpole, p. 288.

(Frederic II. of Prussia) ; I know *how little he is to be trusted,* and I would not have trusted him without good security for the execution of his engagements. * * * I need not tell you, also, that the House of Brandenburgh is a rising house ; the economy of the late King of Prussia ; the spirit of discipline he introduced into his army ; the ambition, talents, and active genius of the present monarch, must render that house a powerful friend or formidable enemy." In regard to the court of Vienna, he says : "I apprehend that the principal object of the court of Vienna will be to distract, divide, and devour the Prussian dominions. Their *pride,* their *vengeance,* and, above all, their *bigotry,* will naturally lead them to destroy a Protestant power that has dared to offend them. It is true, the Protestant Prince, in whose hands the power is lodged, deserves to be chastised for the unworthy and perfidious use he has made of it. But I cannot wish to see that Protestant power destroyed : it may in some time or other fall into better and honester hands, and may thereby prove of singular advantage for preserving the Protestant religion and the liberties of Europe." On the supposition that it would not be possible to be well with both these powers, and that it would be necessary to choose between them, he says : "For my part, I should not once hesitate in the choice. I perhaps may be singular in my opinion here ; but I know the court of Vienna too well ever to expect the smallest spark of gratitude, generosity, or public spirit, in their transactions with us. Their conduct in this present war, which has been

undertaken more in their own behalf than ours; the state of their troops, which are near 40,000 inferior to the number stipulated; the timorous and indifferent conduct of the troops thus deficient; all this makes me look about to see if there is anything in the Queen of Hungary, except her fair face, that ought to make her the darling of the British nation, and of the United Provinces."[4]

Horace Walpole also wrote several letters to the Duke of Cumberland, enforcing the same line of argument. In his third letter to him in 1747, he observes truly: "Our armies are beaten in summer, which makes it vain to treat with them with the hopes of tolerable conditions from a victorious enemy. In winter, the proper season for negotiation, finding great sums ready to be furnished by the people, and voted by the Parliament, our spirits are raised and we grow sanguine." After saying "must the liberties of Europe be given up to France for the stubbornness of the House of Austria, founded upon bigotry, pride, and vengeance, and even upon infidelity to their own engagements? Must the rest of the allies, and especially this country, go on to be exhausted by spending the last farthing to no purpose, and to bring themselves to the brink of ruin, rather than contradict the imperious and vindictive temper of the House of Austria?" he adds, "for subsidies granted any longer are absolutely flung away without gaining the friendship of the King of Prussia."

[4] Coxe's Memoirs of Lord Walpole, pp. 289, 290.

He concludes: "Were these my thoughts only, I should not presume to importune your Royal Highness so often upon so disagreeable a subject; but I am told that what I urge so earnestly is the sense of all the ministers that have access and audience in foreign affairs in the closet, except one [the Duke of Newcastle]; is the sense of all the confidents, friends, and relations of that person, both in and out of Parliament; is the sense of all the well-affected throughout the whole nation."[5]

Again in a paper communicated to the King himself, he says: "it is plain that the King of Prussia at present (November, 1751) holds in his hands the balance of Europe."[6]

Old Horace went on doggedly pressing his favourite notion of an alliance with Prussia; but in vain; subsidies continued to be lavished with mad and profligate prodigality on the elector Palatine, on the electors of Saxony, of Bavaria, on the Queen of Hungary, and others of those greedy potentates whose cry, like that of the daughters of the horse-leech, was still "Give, give," who desired to reap where they had not sown, and who seemed to entertain the idea that England was to afford one continued harvest of gold, ever ripe for the German sickle. Even Russia too was to be subsidised. "I had," writes Horace Walpole to Lord Hardwicke, September 29, 1755,[7] "when my friend Mr. Hanbury was last in England, some discourse with him upon foreign affairs; his lively

[5] Coxe's Memoirs of Lord Walpole, pp. 341, 342. [6] Ibid., p. 393.
[7] Coxe's Memoirs of Lord Walpole, p. 444.

imagination was supported with such a flow of eloquence, and his conclusions were so quick, decisive, and infallible, that my little common sense could not keep pace with so great a genius.[8] One would have thought, by his ideas, that this country is one continued mine of gold, to be come at with ease, and, with a trifle of subsidies, 40,000 or 50,000 Russians, by his magic pen, might in an instant be wafted to any part of Europe for his Majesty's service, either as King or Elector. I gave him to understand," adds the plain-spoken but sagacious old diplomatist, "that his political system moved in a sphere out of the reach of my comprehension."

At length a change came suddenly over this scene. Maria Theresa having opened a private negotiation with the court of Versailles, which terminated in the union between the Houses of Bourbon and Austria, refused to furnish sufficient troops for the defence of the Low Countries, or to co-operate in protecting the Electorate of Hanover, under the pretence of reserving her forces for the security of her own dominions. This removed in an instant the antipathy between George the Second and the King of Prussia. A negotiation was immediately commenced, which terminated in a defensive alliance, by which Frederic agreed to prevent the entrance of foreign troops into Germany. The predictions of Horace Walpole were now verified.

[8] This was one of the great political geniuses who, according to the sapient Horace Walpole the younger, was to circumvent Frederic the Second of Prussia.

England was deserted by the Electors of Bavaria and Palatine, on whom she had lavished her treasures in time of peace; and Russia refused to abide by the terms of her agreement, under the pretext that she considered herself as bound to support the House of Austria, and not the King of Prussia.

The twofold character however of the Seven Years' War must not be lost sight of. The maritime and commercial war between England and France, which broke out in 1755, in America and the West Indies, had no original connection with the European war between Austria and Prussia. But the anxiety of George II. to secure his electoral dominions of Hanover against the arms of France, led him to form an immediate alliance with Prussia, and thus the Houses of Hanover and Brandenburg found themselves united against a confederacy of more than half Europe.

We at one time intended to append a few foot notes to these dispatches from Jomini's Histoire Critique et Militaire des Guerres de Frederic II., but, on consideration, have abandoned such intention, for the following reasons:—The art military is eminently a tentative art, and one to which a remark made by Frederic himself in one of his minor works[9] is peculiarly applicable,—"Criticism is easy, art is difficult." We set very small value upon the criticism of great military operations by

[9] Dialogue des Morts. The same sentiment occurs in other parts of his writings. In a letter to Voltaire, dated Potsdam, 13th February, 1749, after criticising the Catiline of Crébillon, he says: "Souvenez-vous cependant que la critique est aisée, et que l'art est difficile."

any one who has not himself successfully commanded armies. The men most competent to criticise are always those least inclined to do so. What use can it be to be told by a military critic, that Frederic, on such an occasion, instead of doing what he did, should have done something proposed by the critic? And if the military critic is a pedant as well as a critic, (for it is almost needless to say, that there are pedants in blue and red as well as in black coats), the matter is not much mended. Even assuming the critic to be as great in the criticism of war as Aristotle was in that of poetry, it may be submitted that the perusal of his writing would go even a smaller way towards the formation of a great general, than a perusal of Aristotle's Art of Poetry towards the making of a great poet. And assuming also, that the military critic might, under favourable circumstances, show himself a military artist also, still, under circumstances as they are, we may be excused for preferring the opinion of a first-rate military artist, such as Frederic was, to his.

In reference to this subject, and also to the remarks sometimes made of the Austrian generals having been beaten by Napoleon, in consequence of their adherence to what was called Frederic's tactics and strategies, as if their failure were attributable to some vice of Frederic's system, whereas they arose entirely from their being mere pedants and servile imitators, instead of being what all successful generals must be more or less, men of ability and genius, Frederic himself has the following admirable observations in the *Avant-Propos* to his

Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans. He has been talking of the great advantage to a general of a correct knowledge of the country where he is, particularly in the choice of ground for encampment. He then adds, that camps are, however, good or bad according to circumstances. "For example," he continues, "that of Torgau is admirable when you have 70,000 men to fill it; it is defective, if you have only 30,000 men against 60,000, because it extends you too much, consequently weakens you. A camp is like a garment; it ought to be neither too large nor too small for the wearer. However, if one must choose, it is better to have too many men than too few. There are other camps which cover a part of the country, but which become defective, if the enemy changes his position; for example, the camp of Landshut, admirable as it is to cover lower Silesia, becomes bad and indefensible, as soon as the Imperialists hold Glatz and Wartha, because they entirely turn it. In such cases, the judgment ought to dictate the part to be taken; *it ought, above all, to prevent imitation from becoming servile, and, consequently, bad;* why? because two men never find themselves in a situation exactly similar. There will be something parallel in their positions, I admit; but examine those positions well, you will find infinite varieties in the details, because nature, fertile in everything, does not produce the same physiognomies, and does not repeat the same events. It would then be bad reasoning to say: M. de Luxembourg was placed in the same circumstances that I am; he extricated himself from them in this manner; then I

will do the same thing. Past facts are good to nourish the imagination and furnish the memory. They form a repertory of ideas which furnishes matter to be passed through the crucible of the judgment.[1] I repeat it then, the details of the last war ought only to serve to augment the store of military ideas, and to establish some principal positions, which will remain fixed as long as the countries shall not change their form, and nature shall not be overturned."

In addition to what has been already said, it may be convenient to add a few words respecting the Prussian government at the time of Mitchell's arrival at Berlin.

The Prussian government was a pure despotism; of the sort indeed, by courtesy, styled paternal. But the paternal care and superintendence were of a kind that one would not recommend where the children are intended to grow to a healthy maturity. Under monarchs with minds of such restless activity as Frederic the Second and his father, the government interfered in everything. There was no such thing in Prussia as individual freedom of opinion in any one particular. The king interfered in the people's marriages, in the education of their children, and in the disposition of their estates. We will not say the rich,

[1] But the military skill of Frederic himself was brought to the perfection it attained, not by past, but present facts passed through the crucible of his judgment—in other words, by the action of experience upon a clear, strong, and fertile brain—the way in which all such knowledge must be got, and not from systems, however skilfully put together in books.

for in such a country there could be and there were no rich, in our sense of the word, but those who had any property were ground down by taxes, first to support the despot's unjust wars, and then the wars which were the inevitable consequence of those unjust wars ; while the poor were forced to serve in his wars, miserably paid, miserably fed, miserably clothed and sheltered, and most barbarously treated. From the discipline which the King's father administered to his highest ministers as well as his family, kicking their shins, and beating them with his cane, some notion may be formed of the treatment of the common soldiers. A heavy cane was used by the inferior officers on every occasion. If two or three soldiers were seen talking together, a cane descending on their shoulders with heavy blows, soon dispersed them to prevent their plotting. In action a line of sub-officers or sergeants, each armed with a heavy cane, stood behind each rank, one for every three soldiers, so that they had the enemy in front, and these terrible tyrants behind, who rendered running away a business of difficulty and danger. They could never rise to the rank of officers, a rank which in Germany was appropriated to what was there called nobility. They had no hope but death. Many destroyed themselves out of sheer despair. More maimed themselves to escape the accursed military service. But even the treatment of the officers was little better ; their hope of reward not much brighter. It was something to be a Roman patrician ; it is something to be a British peer ; but Prussian nobility, at least under Frederic the Second,

merely denoted a slave with a gilt collar about his neck instead of one of plain brass or iron.

From the small extent of the territory, the despotism exercised by Frederic partook more of the nature of feudal than of monarchical despotism. For in great monarchies men obtain at least some degree, if not of liberty, of equality and *quiet*. But in the Prussian dominions, as in the domains of a feudal baron or suzerain, the sovereign was at the door of every one of his subjects, prying with his suspicious, inquisitive eyes and ears into their most secret words, actions, and even thoughts, and repressing with irresistible force and promptitude, any attempts of the human intellect and will to shoot forth as God and nature intended them to do. What M. Guizot has so well said of feudal tyranny may be most truly applied to this Prussian despotism. "Of all tyrannies, the worst is that which can thus count its subjects, and see from its chair the limits of its empire. It is in such circumstances that the caprices of the human will display themselves in their most intolerable and fantastic shape, and with irresistible promptitude of action."[2] Besides the positive curtailment, amounting almost to total destruction, of the subjects' happiness under such a system, it is clear that it must have rendered the human mind absolutely stunted. However it might fare with philosophy and letters, it is evident that no great statesman and no great general could be produced under it.[3] This indeed

[2] Essais sur l'Histoire de France, p. 357. Paris, 1824.

[3] Frederic's ablest marshals, such as Schwerin and Keith, were not formed under him.

is true, however large the empire, where the despot is a mind like Frederic or Napoleon ; for he reduces all his ministers and generals to mere machines.

There is a remark of Thiebault, in speaking of the English ambassador at the Court of Berlin, that indicates the different effects produced on the human character by despotism and free institutions. He says : "Original he was, doubtless : without this he could not well be an Englishman." Of course the difference is not all in the race or root. If you take two plants with the same roots, and leave one free and tie up and confine the other, how different will be the trees that will grow from them. Thiebault mentions a circumstance that shows strikingly to what extent Frederic's interference went, even with the amusements of his nobility : "As to sporting, it was the object of Frederic's abhorrence. Any gentleman known to be addicted to this passion would wholly have lost his esteem. His nephew, to procure himself the pleasures of the field only once or twice a-year, did so with every possible precaution, that the intelligence might not reach the ears of Frederic. 'The butcher,' said this monarch, 'even the butcher does not kill animals for his pleasure, he does it for the necessities of *man:* but the sportsman kills for pleasure; this is odious! The sportsman therefore should be placed below the butcher in the order of society.'"

Such a place as Prussia then was, must have been, viewing the matter as one of choice, a most distasteful residence to any man with the habits of an English gentleman. And Mitchell appears to have felt this

bitterly at times. But then he had few ties to bind him to his native country. Neither wife nor child, brother nor sister, could welcome him to the home of his youth. His country was torn by factions ; and in that part of it with which he was most closely connected, Scotland, the deep scars which the last rebellion had left were still unhealed ; and the relics of feudal barbarism, joined to the newer, more modern barbarism of political and religious fanaticism, Romanist Jacobite, and Presbyterian Whig, seeming to strive which could carry farthest the tyranny of their savage intolerance, rendered even the Prussian camp and the battle-field of Zorndorff places of comparative repose. And then his post, though a post of hardship, of toil, of danger, of trouble, was a post of honour.

CHAPTER VI.

MISSION TO BERLIN—MITCHELL'S CHARACTER AS A DIPLOMATIST—FREDERIC'S REAL OPINION OF MR. PITT—DIPLOMATIC CHARACTER OF SIR THOMAS VILLIERS, AFTERWARDS LORD HYDE AND EARL OF CLARENDON, MITCHELL'S PREDECESSOR AT BERLIN.

If, in this age of large books about small men, an apology should be deemed necessary for the publication of these volumes, perhaps one may be found in the following passage of a justly celebrated writer.

"The partition which the two Ministers made of the powers of Government was singularly happy. Each occupied a province for which he was well qualified; and neither had any inclination to intrude himself into the province of the other. Newcastle took the Treasury, the civil and ecclesiastical patronage, and the disposal of that part of the secret service money which was then employed in bribing Members of Parliament. Pitt was Secretary of State, with the direction of the war and of foreign affairs. Thus the filth of all the noisome and pestilential sewers of Government was poured into one channel. Through the other passed only what was bright and stainless. Mean and selfish

politicians, pining for commissionerships, gold sticks, and ribands, flocked to the great house at the corner of Lincoln's Inn Fields. There, at every levee, appeared eighteen or twenty pair of lawn sleeves; for there was not, it was said, a single Prelate who had not owed either his first elevation or some subsequent translation to Newcastle. There appeared those members of the House of Commons, in whose silent votes the main strength of the Government lay. One wanted a place in the Excise for his butler. Another came about a prebend for his son. A third whispered that he had always stood by his Grace and the Protestant succession; that his last election had been very expensive; that pot-wallopers had now no conscience; that he had been forced to take up money on mortgage; and that he hardly knew where to turn for five hundred pounds. The Duke pressed all their hands, passed his arms round all their shoulders, patted all their backs, and sent away some with wages, and some with promises. From this traffic Pitt stood haughtily aloof. Not only was he himself incorruptible, but he shrank from the loathsome drudgery of corrupting others. He had not, however, been twenty years in Parliament, and ten in office, without discovering how the Government was carried on. He was perfectly aware that bribery was practised on a large scale by his colleagues. Hating the practice, yet despairing of putting it down, and doubting whether, in those times, any Ministry could stand without it, he determined to be blind to it. He would see nothing, know nothing, believe nothing.

People who came to talk to him about shares in lucrative contracts, or about the means of securing a Cornish corporation, were soon put out of countenance by his arrogant humility. They did him too much honour; such matters were beyond his capacity. It was true that his poor advice about expeditions and treaties was listened to with indulgence by a gracious Sovereign. If the question were, who should command in North America, or who should be ambassador at Berlin, his colleagues would probably condescend to take his opinion; but he had not the smallest influence with the Secretary of the Treasury, and could not venture to ask even for a tide-waiter's place."[4]

In other words the posts at that time where a man of ability was specially required, were North America and Berlin, or rather Germany, for an ambassador at the Prussian court there, who should efficiently perform his duties, behoved to be an ambassador in the Prussian camp. Now Wolfe commanded in North America, and Mitchell was ambassador at Berlin. Though we admit it may appear almost ridiculous to institute any comparison between a great and successful soldier and a mere diplomatist under any circumstances, yet as, considering the toils, perils, and responsibilities of the post which Mitchell so long filled with honour, we think less than the full measure of justice has been meted out to him, perhaps we may be excused if we write his

[4] Article on the Earl of Chatham in the Edinburgh Review, No. clxii., pp. 530, 531.

name in the same sentence with such a name as Wolfe's. Each was a man, in the highest sense of the word, an ornament of his profession; the one a consummate soldier, possessing a thorough knowledge of the most minute details of his profession, with a genius to apply successfully the result of that knowledge to the greatest and most daring enterprises; the other displaying the extraordinary spectacle of a most able and successful diplomatist, remarkable for straightforwardness, sincerity, and even bluntness of character; having an invincible repugnance not only to the chicanery and mendacity which have been too much the characteristics of diplomatists,[5] but even to anything like insincerity and breach of confidence.

We insert here *Thiebault's* account of Mitchell.

"Sir Andrew Mitchell, Knight of the Order of the Garter,[6] had been for several years the English ambassador to Berlin when I first arrived there; sometime however elapsed from this time before I had the least acquaintance with him, not only because it was little to be expected that Englishmen should be desirous of the society of Frenchmen, but also because Sir Andrew Mitchell was of the number of those meritorious characters who stand in no need of perpetual society to his existence, and have the philosophy to prefer being occasionally alone. When he first arrived at Berlin, he

[5] "Hélas!" said Mitchell's friend, the earl marischal, when acting as ambassador for the King of Prussia at the Court of France, "il faut pour ce métier-là une finesse que je n'ai pas et que je ne me soucie point d'avoir."

[6] This is a mistake for the order of the Bath.

had caused the persons who necessarily invited him to their houses considerable perplexity; for he played at no game of cards, so that his hosts constantly said to each other, 'What shall we do with this Englishman who never plays at cards?' In a few days, however, the contest was, who should withhold himself from the card-table and have the advantage of conversing with a man in whom they had discovered every requisite to afford the highest pleasure in colloquial intercourse. In reality, his understanding was no less admirable than the virtues of his character. Of this I cannot give a more substantial proof than by observing, he was united by the strictest bonds of friendship with the author of *L'Esprit des Lois*.

"A variety of bons-mots of his have been repeated; but those which do him the greatest honour have been overlooked; those for example that explained rather his principles than his understanding. On one occasion, that the English mail had three times following failed of arriving, the King said to him, in one of his levees, 'Have you not the spleen, Mr. Mitchell, when the mail is thus delayed?' 'No, Sire, not when it is delayed, but often enough when it arrives duly.' During the Seven Years' War, in which Sir Andrew constantly served immediately under Frederic, the English had promised the latter to send a fleet to the Baltic, for the protection of commerce and to keep off the Swedes and Russians: this fleet never made its appearance, and in consequence the Swedes transported their army without interruption to Pomerania, together with all

the necessaries for its support; while the Russians, on their part, did not lose so good an opportunity of conveying provisions for their troops by sea, and laid siege to Colberg, to say nothing of the injury sustained by the King and the commerce of his subjects. This breach of promise on the part of England could not fail of giving umbrage to Frederic; and, accordingly, he incessantly complained of their proceedings to Sir Andrew Mitchell, who found himself embarrassed what reply to make him. At length the ambassador, who had before been daily invited to dine with the King, received no longer this mark of attention: the generals meeting him about the King's hour of dinner said to him, 'It is dinner-time, M. Mitchell.' 'Ah, gentlemen,' replied he, 'No fleet, no dinner!' This was repeated to Frederic, and the invitations were renewed.

"After the affair of Port Mahon, the King said to him, 'You have made a bad beginning, M. Mitchell! What! your fleet beaten, and Port Mahon taken in your first campaign! The trial in which you are proceeding against your Admiral Byng is a bad plaister for the malady! You have made a pitiful campaign of it; this is certain.' 'Sire, we hope, with God's assistance, to make a better next year.' 'With *God's* assistance, say you, Sir? I did not know you had such an ally.' 'We rely much upon him, though he costs us less than our other allies.' 'Spare no expense with him; you shall see he will give you money's worth for your money!'

"The ambassador was truly the friend and partisan of philosophy and virtue. During the Seven Years' War, when Frederic was least satisfied with England, the Cabinet of London sent Sir Andrew Mitchell a long and circumstantial letter, in which they severely reproached him for omitting to communicate to them the numerous and bitter sarcasms which they could not doubt escaped Frederic concerning them. Sir Andrew, who himself related to me this anecdote, replied, that in accepting his mission he considered himself as intrusted with the care of maintaining and strengthening the ties that existed between his country and a valuable ally; that his desire had been to prove a minister of peace and union; that if it were intended to make of him a minister of hatred, pitiful bickerings, and despicable tale-bearings, he wished nothing more than that they would name him a successor immediately, as he should never be prevailed upon to play a part so unworthy of his sentiments and character; that it was not on this account to be believed he was less devoted to his country than the persons they might appoint to succeed him; that he knew perfectly well how to distinguish between what was of a nature to be injurious, and what was merely indifferent; that if any change should happen in the dispositions of his Prussian Majesty, this he could not fail to be informed of, and would have lost not a moment in his communications to the Court of London; but he begged them to consider that all the circumstances they had particularized in their letter, and with which he was perfectly acquainted at

the time, were nothing more than the first impulses of a man possessed of no less irritability of temper and sensibility than of genius ;[7] that they might even have been nothing more than simple pleasantries, brought forward either with the intention of deceiving some of his hearers, or to put them off their guard as to what they might themselves have to conceal ; that, in a word, it was his duty to remind them, that to judge accurately respecting a man so extraordinary, or even of what he says, it was doing little indeed to collect the mere words he uttered, if to these were not added a knowledge of the time in which they were pronounced, under what circumstances, and with what views. 'Well,' added he, 'my remonstrance produced the effect I desired. I never was ignorant of all the bitter sarcasms and little epigrammatic raillery that issued from the King against whoever fell in his way ; but I carefully avoided mentioning them in my official dispatches. I was never afterward solicited on this point. I should blush for the vocation I follow, if I were compelled to descend to such disgraceful meddling.' I am much mistaken, or this trait proves the minister to have

[7] It is curious to compare with this the following passage from the Earl of Malmesbury's Diaries and Correspondence, vol. iv., p. 202. "Lord Hawkesbury said he thought the First Consul very like Paul, really mad,—that his temper grew quite outrageous, and that his unpopularity amounted to perfect hatred,—'It must be *madness*,' Lord Hawkesbury said. I quoted to him a letter from Dresden, by the first Lord Lyttleton to his father, in 1741, or thereabouts, which said just the *same* of the *great* Frederic, soon after his accession ; yet he lived and reigned more than forty years afterwards, and betrayed no symptoms of insanity. Sir C. Williams, then our Minister in Saxony, said on this occasion, 'c'est parceque Frederic a plus d'esprit qu'eux, que les Allemans le croyent fou.'"

possessed an elevated soul, and that he ennobled his vocation."[8]

M. Thiebault's work, though of no great value either for knowledge or judgment, is written on the whole with candour and fairness.

The following letter illustrates some of the points touched on in M. Thiebault's account of Mitchell.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.[9]

Leitmeritz, Monday, 11th July, 1757.

My Lord,

After the communication which is contained in my other letter of this date, the King of Prussia said, with great warmth, he did not think he should have been so used by his ally, especially after the assurances given last summer of sending a squadron into the Baltic; that it had ever been, and was still, his opinion, if England had spoke as she used to do, this attack of the Russians by sea would have been prevented; that certainly a very small squadron would have kept both

[8] The original not being at hand the above extract was made from the English translation of Thiebault's work (published in London in 1805, in 2 vols. 8vo, under the title of "Original Anecdotes of Frederic the Second, &c.") where the account of Mitchell occurs, vol. ii., pp. 27—32. In the original French work, which was published in Paris in 1804, in 5 vols. 8vo, under the title of "Souvenirs sur Frédérie le Grand," the account of Mitchell is at vol. iii., pp. 271—283, and contains some particulars of his death and funeral which the translator has omitted. The last sentence of the passage given in the text above is thus in the French. "Je me trompe fort, ou ce trait prouve combien ce ministre avait l'ame noble, et savait ennoblir ses fonctions."—Tom. iii., p. 280.

[9] Robert Darcy, 4th Earl of Holdernesse of that name. He died in 1778 without male issue, when that earldom, as well as the barony of Darcy, created by patent of 1641, became extinct.

them and the Swedes quiet; that after the assurances given, and the many representations made from time to time for this Baltic squadron, he had been shifted off with fair words and general promises; that it was his misfortune to have allied himself with England in her *decadence*, and to have been used as no ally of England's ever was. His Prussian Majesty then put me in mind of what England had done in the War of the Succession, and in the late war to support the Queen of Hungary. He therefore concluded that it was not want of power, but want of inclination, and a hankering after the old system, that had occasioned these strange, and, he thought, unjustifiable proceedings.

I assured his Prussian Majesty that I had not the least suspicion of that sort, and laid the blame entirely upon the fatal and unhappy divisions in the ministry, which had reduced that unfortunate country to the paralytick state, in which it has languished for upwards of nine months past.

My situation, for a great while, has not been agreeable. I do not enter into a discussion of the causes of it. I have endeavoured honestly and zealously to do my duty. I have never swerved from the principles that I think for the King's honour and interest. The period is now come that I can be of no more use, and his Majesty's affairs require a person of more abilities and capacity than I am master of. I therefore most humbly beg your Lordship to lay me at the King's feet, and to desire he will be graciously pleased to name another Minister, whose success I hope will greatly

surpass my poor endeavours, and no man shall more heartily rejoice in it than myself.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The above letter was accompanied by a private letter, of the same date, to Lord Holdernesse, in which Mitchell says—

"I must refer to my letters of the 9th, 10th, and 11th; the request in the last I hope you will support me in. I return you a thousand thanks for your goodness. I have been unkindly used and neglected by some, from whom I had reason to expect better things; but I will say no more. Would to God I was the only person hurt by our flagitious and factious divisions! The nation, my dear Lord, will not in a century recover what it has lost of character. I have supported, without complaining, the fatigues of a very rude campaign; but the distress and anxiety of mind I feel, will very soon render me unfit for anything, and there are certain situations where it is the duty of a man to retire."

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

SIR, *Whitehall, 2nd August,* 1757.

I read over with the utmost astonishment and concern your private letter of the 11th July, expressing your desire of being recalled; but my surprise was soon after greatly augmented, when I found that you

had taken the same step in your office letter, and publickly desired you might be replaced by some other person, without having given me, or any other of your friends in England, the least previous notice of your intentions, and I must freely tell you that your conduct appears to me rash in regard to yourself, and most unkind towards me. I am totally at a loss how to account for this your resolution, and I *know not* who it is you allude to in your private letter, by whom you seem to think you have not been well used. I am unwilling to think you inconsistent yourself, and yet I cannot combine your letters of the two or three days before, with that of the 11th, or form to myself a reason why you would not at least wait for an answer to some of your most interesting letters; in short, till you explain yourself farther, and I hope you will do so, without reserve, by the first opportunity. My real friendship and regard for you shall make me suspend forming a hasty judgment upon what I do not yet clearly understand. The points I want to have cleared up are, whether you have taken your resolution finally? whether it is founded upon private or publick considerations? and, in either case, what are your grievances? Depend upon it, you may venture to open yourself with freedom; whatever your reasons may be, they will be considered and weighed with partiality of friendship, as I am still persuaded you have not a thought which should diminish the real esteem and sincere affection with which I have ever been your faithfull friend.

HOLDERNESSE.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, 17th August, 1757.

My Lord,

In the secret letter I have told truth, but not the whole truth. After that very animated conversation I had with his Prussian Majesty, I concluded he knew more than he chose to tell me ; my suspicion was, that Hanover councils had prevailed, and that I should have been made the tool to paliate their neutrality. To avoid this, I desired to be recalled, and, as I prefer my honour and peace of mind to everything, I chose rather the most private station, than a more splendid one at this price.

The person I allude to is the Duke of Newcastle. He shuffled with me five months last year for a trifle of money, about which I shall give him no more trouble.

His Grace's letter by Lamb was very proper, agreeing entirely with what your Lordship wrote, full of good intentions, assurances, &c. I shall answer it by the first safe opportunity. Your Lordship may be assured that I am highly sensible of the marks of confidence you sent me by Lamb, and shall not abuse them.

I cannot conclude this letter without owning my fault of having said any thing of myself in the office letter, but my mind was so filled with suspicion and with anger, that I made no reflection. You will, therefore, I hope, be satisfied that nothing unkind was meant towards your Lordship, nor that ought to diminish the friendship you have so long honoured me with.

I am, &c.,

Andr. Mitchell.

In a letter to Lord Holdernesse, dated Dresden, 7th April, 1757, Mitchell says (he is speaking with reference to the intrigues of the Hanoverian Ministers), "I must not conceal from your Lordship that, notwithstanding the King's goodness to me, I am unhappy in my situation; I cannot support it much longer; the vexation and anxiety of mind I have suffered these five months passed is not to be described. I was born an enemy to falsehood, deceit, and double dealing, and have ever had an equal contempt and abhorrence of those that practice either. I am lucky, indeed, in one circumstance, of being absolutely uninformed of what passes in a certain quarter, except in as far as his Prussian Majesty thinks fit to communicate the reports that are made to him. May this happy ignorance last for ever; I comfort myself with saying, 'My soul, enter not into their secrets.'"

It might, indeed, have been supposed, that this, namely to be the carrier of tittle-tattle would be the *beau ideal* of a diplomatist, as understood by such a person as that egregious scandal-monger and retailer of Court small-talk—tittle-tattle of the smallest and dirtiest kind—Horace Walpole, the younger. Accordingly, we find him delivering himself of the following observations:—

"Every attempt of our sending men of parts to circumvent him had succeeded ill: the King of Prussia was so far a little genius that he dreaded trying himself against talents. For this reason he used Legge and

Sir Charles Williams in the most ungracious manner. Lord Hyndford,[1] Mr. Villiers,[2] and Mitchell were the men that suited him; and had he known him, he would not have feared Yorke. But the King made Mitchell introduce him, would talk to him on no business, and entertained him with nothing but a panegyric on Mitchell."[3] Let any one who knows anything of the characters of the two men, imagine Frederic of Prussia circumvented by Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.

There is no necessity for exalting Mitchell into a genius by depreciating Williams or anybody else. Such abilities as Mitchell possessed were solid rather than showy; he was, like Frederic himself, a thorough man of business. The true explanation of what Horace Walpole thus attempts to explain in his fantastic fashion is this. For the dispatch of the business of men, Frederic naturally desired to have to do with men who understood the business of men. When he wished to unbend himself with literature or wit, he did not need to have recourse to such small wits as Williams; he had the society or the correspondence of a wit of a somewhat larger size, Voltaire. And finding Voltaire to his taste in that line, we think we may almost venture to apply to Horace Walpole himself,

[1] This appears to be a mistake with regard to Lord Hyndford, who, we believe, was by no means one of the "men that suited Frederic."

[2] Afterwards Lord Hyde, and Earl of Clarendon. See *ante*, p. 85, and also his letters, and the note a few pages further on.

[3] Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George II., vol. ii., p. 293, 4to ed. London, 1822.

with the alteration of a word or two, what he applies to Yorke: had Frederic known him (Walpole), he would not have rated his wit much higher than he did that of Williams.

It must not be supposed that Mitchell obtained and kept the place he held in Frederic's estimation by humouring and yielding to him in everything. Far from it. He appears to have been the only person who dared to oppose him, and often to oppose him successfully when he thought him wrong. This is proved in many ways, and is in accordance with the whole of Mitchell's character, which was at once blunt, honest, and sagacious. In proof of what we say, we quote the following passage from a letter of Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Bute.[4]

Magdebourg, 7th March, 1762.

It is proper on this occasion to explain to your Lordship only, why I have been induced to write directly to the King of Prussia. Count Finckenstein pressed me very much, and was pleased to say that his master gave more attention to what came from me, &c., but the truth is, his ministers are afraid to write with that freedom which is necessary, as their master is extremely jealous of receiving advice. I could give

[4] John, 3rd Earl of Bute, who unjustly suffered so much popular odium, chiefly for doing what ought to have gained him a nation's applause and gratitude, namely, putting an end to a sanguinary and expensive war. A very important dispatch of his, not before published, justifying his conduct in regard to the Prussian subsidy, will be found in a subsequent chapter.

your Lordship some very striking examples, particularly since the first opening with the Court of Russia. I have been obliged to write with the greatest freedom, sometimes directly and sometimes by the canal of Count Finckenstein, narrating a conversation I have had with him. These, methinks, have hitherto succeeded. Everything has been done as was suggested, and I have been loaded with thanks; but I confess, my Lord, I tremble every time I am reduced to this necessity, from the knowledge I have of the party concerned.

The following letter to Mr. Weston shows the assiduity with which Mitchell attended to the duties of his office, although his health had suffered cruelly by the fatigues and hardships of the Seven Years' campaigns, which, in truth, shortened his days :—

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Weston.

Magdebourg, 19th March, 1762.

Dear Sir,

I do not care to trouble my Lord Bute with accounts of my health. I have been out airing this day, for the first time these four weeks, and my physician thinks, if business requires my going to Breslaw, that I may undertake the journey, with proper precautions. Please, therefore, to acquaint his Lordship that I shall set out for Breslaw so soon as his Prussian Majesty gives the least hint that he wants me (and it will be to no purpose to be there sooner), or whenever his Lordship shall order me. I am glad we

have got the Duke of Bevern ; he is every way a good man : but I feared a refusal. It was lucky Mann, the messenger, rode so well that he was re-dispatched from Breslaw with the King of Prussia's answer before Count Finckenstein's courier arrived there.

It is natural that persons of great craft (if at the same time they are persons of unusual capacity and comprehensiveness of mind), should like openness and frankness in those they deal with. This will account for what Horace Walpole attempts to account for in another and a very unsatisfactory way. Guy Dickens, at that time the English minister at Berlin, gives the following account (in a dispatch dated Berlin, August 17th, 1740,) of an audience he had of Frederic the Second, soon after his accession. "During the whole audience, the King was in an extreme good humour, and not only heard with attention all the representations made to him, but *was not in the least offended at any objections I made to what he said. It is undoubtedly the best way to behave with frankness to him.*" This agrees perfectly with all Mitchell's experience of him. Mitchell's courageous and conscientious remonstrances with him would sometimes make the blood rush into his face ; yet upon the whole he received them with wonderful forbearance, and even good humour. We give the following letter as one of the many proofs that may be cited of this.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Feb.[5] 1761.

My Lord,

The premeditated and deliberate plundering of Hubertsburg has been attended with circumstances of meanness that I am really ashamed to narrate them, yet they are too public to be concealed. I therefore leave them to the pens of the injured and outraged Saxons; such of his ministers as have any virtue mourn in secret for what has been done and for what may farther happen.

I took occasion from the paper inclosed in Mr. Keith's letter to throw in a hint of the effects that reports only of our transactions here had had at the court of Russia. At first he reddened, then favoured the discussion; but it will have no effect, for ferocity has seized his mind, and cruelty has steeled his heart.

My health is still very weak; the chagrin occasioned by what I see and what I hear, preys upon my mind; I fear I cannot long support it, but all this for yourself.

We have no doubt it was the same manly frankness, joined to good sense, which made Villiers,[6] as well as

[5] The date of this letter is not in the rough draft from which this is copied, but it undoubtedly was written between the 1st and the 28th of February, 1761.

[6] Ranke, in his Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, thus speaks of him. I quote from Sir Alexander and Lady Duff Gordon's excellent translation :— "Sir Thomas Villiers, who had made every effort to remove the obstacles that had arisen at the last, was present when the documents were signed. On the 25th of December (1745) the Austrian treaty was first read in his presence, and

Mitchell, an efficient negotiator with Frederic. The following letters from him, when Lord Hyde, to Mitchell, we have great pleasure in being enabled to publish, as affording very unequivocal testimony to the private worth and sociable and amiable qualities of both the parties. As regards the writer they show, we think, in a very unostentatious way, both head and heart. The first dozen words of the first letter convince us that he was a man of sense.

Lord Hyde to Mr. Mitchell.

27*th June*, 1761.

My dear Mitchell,

Though I can't say that I am fond of unnecessary writing or unnecessary talking, I was happy in receiving a letter from an old friend that I love ; having heard that his health which endured the follies of youth had been injured by ministerial toils. By matrimony it seems I am freed from both, and enjoy life in a plain, insignificant way, with a wife that I value, and three boys and a girl. I give no flattery and receive no

then the Saxon in that of Count Harrach also ; after which both documents were signed. Villiers, a man of the world and fond of literature, when thanked by Podewils in the name of Frederick, was deeply moved by the consciousness that he had served as an instrument in this great act of reconciliation.* Podewils asserted that the tears stood in his eyes."—Vol. iii., p. 326.

* " Te di virtute et del buon Flacco amico . . .
Te le guerre a compor nato d'Europa."
Algarotti to Villiers : Opere Varie, ii. 455.

favours : I am not out of humour, but see things, as far as my sight will reach, without prejudice or partiality ; how long this state of annihilation will last, I can't determine as I have taken no resolutions on it, but considering my great indolence and little merit, I shall scarce be again in an active station ; so my friends will scarce ever have any thing of me, but my wishes which would have accompanyed your's had I known they had tended to Augsbourg, I mean for yourself, for as to me I am happy that Lord Egremont is at the head of our ministers there. A fitter man, or one more my friend, England has none at present. Lord Granville is much as he was as to spirits and dignity, at least to us who see him daily and partially. Perhaps you would perceive that time had made its impression and lessened both. We often talk you over and wish for the stories we are to have when you return. Lord Jersey has rather more gout than he had, in other respects the same. Lord Weymouth is in the bed chamber and becomes it. H. Thynne has not yet altered his course of life. He begins to want a rich wife and a sinecure place, and I am disposed to imagine he will succeed. Notwithstanding this sameness among a few, don't conclude that it extends through the state ; you will find, whenever you come among the great, many new plans and new persons. I wish my poor friends in your parts were as I left them. I often feel for you and for Fritsch as much as for any. Let those who are alive, who are not many, and fall in your way, be assured of

my regard, esteem, and compassion, and be yourself convinced that I am unalterably yours,

H.

My wife begs her compliments of friendship and esteem.

As to the business part of your letter it shall be executed ; much is due to your care and friendship.

Lord Hyde to Mr. Mitchell.

Upper Grosvenor-street, 1*st Dec.,* 1763.

My dear Mitchell,

I suppose the inclosed expresses Mr. Hanbury's sense of your obliging and friendly care of his brother's boxes, and a desire that they may be forwarded to him (who has authority from the younger brother, George, the executor, to receive them), with an assurance that he, Mr. Capel Hanbury, will reimburse, on demand, all expenses incurred on this occasion. This at least was the substance of our conversation, which he desired I would transmit, but I thought it proper that he should pay his own acknowledgments, where so much was due. This past yesterday morning in the presence of Lord Harcourt, who joined in extolling your sociable and worthy qualities, and agreed that it would be very comfortable to hear your adventures from yourself over a bottle or *two* of claret. If anybody besides yourself thinks of me where you are, you may confidently assert that I retain warm gratitude for Berlin, but I imagine most of my ministerial and military acquaintances are

gone gradually or precipitately to their last home, and that my female friends, if any are left, too much wrinkled for one who can pick and chuse. Should ever opportunity be so blindly favourable as to permit you to lay my duty and respects at his Prussian Majesty's feet, you may with great truth add that I shall ever feel, as I ought, the honour done me by his Majesty's most gracious opinion. Is there any historian attempting to describe and keep pace with his wonderful atchievements? The death of the King of Poland, or rather the choice of a new one, will probably open a field for another volume. Was I as young and as unengaged as when I first knew that part of the world, I would again embark in that agitated sea. It is impossible not to have a kind of longing to admire so great a Prince in the midst of such important affairs; but as it is, I must be contented to tell old stories to my wife and children, and to read and explain the Gazettes. Was there any hopes of your assistance in these domestick amusements we should all be the happier. My wife joins in hearty wishes for your welfare, and in that perfect esteem with which I unalterably remain,

My dear Mitchell,

Most cordially yours,

HYDE.

Lord Hyde to Mr. Mitchell.

The Grove, 24th Sept., 1763.

MY DEAR MITCHELL,

I am very glad to find by your favour of the 3d, that your health is better, and that you are not so

germanised but that you wish to be among us ; all who know you, wish to have you, none more than my wife and myself. You will find terrible gaps in our acquaintance ; death has made cruel havock ; we that remain according to Prussian discipline should stand the closer.

As to the boxes in question, which have given you so much trouble, but at the same time an opportunity of showing a very kind and friendly disposition, I have desired Mrs. Capel Hanbury, whose husband I believe is an executor but abroad, to employ an agent authorised at Hambourg to receive and forward the same and reimburse all expences thereon. I am an entire stranger to Sir C. H. Williams' testamentary disposition, and all the affairs of that family, or should not have left any thing from you so long undone. I am, with the truest esteem,

My dear Mitchell,

Most faithfully yours,

HYDE.

The freedom spoken of in the letter to Lord Bute above quoted was however used with that tact which has been said always to accompany true talent—practical talent certainly it must always accompany. Besides, such qualities as sincerity and good faith are prized even by those who are signally deficient in them. Frederic himself was anything but sincere. Yet he always retained (even amid the dislike which Lord Bute's conduct in withdrawing his subsidy had given him towards the whole English nation) a more than

ordinary esteem for Mitchell. It is not merely his addressing him as he does at the commencement of his epistle to him on the origin of evil—

> " Ministre vertueux d'un peuple dont les lois
> Ont à leur sage frein assujetti les rois,
> Pourquoi, mon cher Mitchel, &c.;"[7]

nor in prose, thus, under date of 20th of May, 1762 : " I have no doubt of your good and honourable sentiment, my dear Mr. Mitchell. I could wish that everybody thought in the same manner ; the world would be all the happier for it, and men more virtuous ;" or again, thus, (25th June, 1765) : " I am very sorry, my dear Mitchell, that your recal entirely separates us; however, the memory of your good conduct and of your merit will not be lost here ;" for Frederic's compliments, both in verse and prose, were often very far from reflecting his real opinions of the objects of those compliments. But his esteem for Mitchell was manifested by signs less fallacious : for he is said to have wept as he looked from a balcony on Mitchell's funeral procession.

The reason why Berlin was then the post of importance for an ambassador was this. It was the centre of

[7] This epistle is printed in vol. viii., p. 9. of the edition of the King's works, published after his death at Berlin (in 1788) in 15 vols. It is dated at Breslau the 28th December, 1761, and fills fourteen pages. A MS. copy of it is among the Mitchell Papers, accompanied with a letter written by the king's orders to Mitchell, signed " Catt," with a cover, very much in the form of the envelopes now in fashion, addressed

" A Son Excellence Monsieur de Mitchell, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de S. M. Britannique à Magdebourg."

all the negotiations carried on by the British government. Besides his regular business connected with the court where he was accredited, Mitchell had to keep up a regular correspondence with the Duke of Cumberland while he was at the head of the army in another part of Germany. There is, as already stated in the Preface, among the Mitchell Papers, a large collection of letters from the Duke of Cumberland to Mitchell, all written in his own hand. In the first of them, dated "Hanover, April 17, 1757," His Royal Highness says: "The King's intention, when I went from England, was to have a weekly messenger to go from London through here to you, and one in return from you to call here." And besides all the transactions relating to Germany and central Europe, all the negotiations with the courts of St. Petersburg and Constantinople passed through Mitchell.

The reason why a man may be a successful diplomatist, and at the same time a truthful straightforward man, is suggested by Dr. Franklin's account of his own success as a diplomatist, who says that he told the truth and they did not believe him, and consequently went upon a false scent, upon a wrong track. The effect is something the same as fighting with a right-handed man, when you have only been taught to defend yourself against a man who fights with his left hand.

But it is necessary to make one or two observations on the passage cited above from the article on the Earl of Chatham, which might lead to inferences that would be incorrect.

Unquestionably Berlin was the post of difficulty, and therefore the post of honour, and unquestionably the Duke of Newcastle was a very ridiculous character and probably something worse; nevertheless the conclusion that "the filth of all the noisome and pestilential sewers of government was poured into one channel (Newcastle's), though the other passed only what was bright and stainless," is by no means universally true. If there was anything "bright and stainless" among the politicians of that time, it was the character of Mitchell. Yet Mitchell was appointed to his post at Berlin chiefly by the Duke of Newcastle. In the judgment of his contemporaries, a judgment which has been confirmed by posterity, he filled his post with the greatest ability. Nevertheless, though the matter does not appear on the surface, we now find by some of Mitchell's journals, that Pitt used his influence at a very critical time to have him recalled. But the bully of the English House of Commons had got a man to deal with here whom his big voice could not frighten. "I have refused to be governed by kings," said Frederic to Mitchell, "and I will not be governed by Mr. Pitt."[8] Accordingly the matter ended so far by the recal of the recal. But it concerns the character of Mitchell to show why he had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of Mr. Pitt.

It might no doubt be truly said of Pitt, as is said in the passage quoted, that, "if the question were,

[8] On the occasion when the King of Prussia said this to Mitchell, he added, "Do you know Mr. Pitt's system? It is to humble France without hurting it or doing it any harm. This man, sure, cannot be a great politician." See Journal of 1758, *post*.

who should command in North America, or who should be ambassador at Berlin, his colleagues would probably condescend to take his opinion." The fair inference from this would be, that, during a period so important as that of the Seven Years' War, no one could be ambassador at Berlin without Pitt's most full approbation and confidence. Nevertheless we find it stated in Mitchell's Journal of 1758, that when, on the evening before the sanguinary battle of Zorndorff, Mitchell made his appearance at the King's quarter with the marshals and generals, the King said, in answer to Mitchell's request for permission to attend his Majesty if there was an action the next day: "By no means, you must not; you may be killed, *et cela fera plaisir à Mr. Pitt.*"

We own we were startled when we first read this, for in Mitchell's dispatches there is not a trace of his having incurred the displeasure of Mr. Pitt; and we had always attributed his sudden and unaccountable recal at the end of the year 1757 to some freak or humour of George II. or the Duke of Newcastle, probably occasioned by Mitchell's strong expressions of indignation at the conduct of the Hanover ministry. In the dispatches, too, the King of Prussia is represented as paying very high compliments to Mr. Pitt. These compliments, indeed, are perhaps rather paid to the openness and sincerity of his character than to his abilities as a statesman. But in Mitchell's journal we find the great King expressing to Mitchell his decided

opinion that the great orator was a pedant. This is an example of the difficulty of finding the true aspect of things in history, or even of finding truly represented that double aspect which really belongs to most things, though, as they do not wear them both at once, they are made to turn to posterity that one which the historian may happen to have seen. We happen to know of a case very similar to that we have just related, where the opinion of another great man of deeds of a certain great man of words would (if the records of it should ever see the light, which they are not likely to do) appear as unfavourable as Frederic's opinion of Pitt. In regard to Mitchell's recal, we have found upon a careful investigation the real state of the case to be pretty nearly the following :—

In July, 1757, the expedition against Rochefort was planned by Pitt, (according to Horace Walpole at the suggestion of one Clarke). The fleet, however, did not sail till September. The utter failure of the expedition is well known. In a letter to Lord Holdernesse, dated Leipzig, 1st November, 1757, Mitchell makes the following remark on this expedition :—

" The English, till now, were envied and hated upon the Continent. At present they are despised. The late expedition against France makes them be considered as triflers incapable of acting for themselves or of assisting their allies."

Soon after it was announced to Mitchell by Lord Holdernesse that he was recalled, and that General

Yorke was appointed to succeed him. We think it but justice to Mitchell's memory to give his own account of the matter contained in his Journal of 1758, which will be found in a subsequent chapter, and in the following extract, from a "Narrative of Major General Yorke's mission to the King of Prussia" in Mitchell's handwriting.

"When I went to Court in the morning, the King of Prussia took me aside, and said, '*Scavez-vous, mon ami, que vous etes rapellé ; je crois que votre Monsieur Pitt est devenu fou :*' I answered, I had that morning received a letter notifying my recal, but without giving the least hint for what, and that I found Col. Yorke was thought of to succeed me ; that I should leave his Majesty's presence with regret, but was happy the choice had fallen upon Yorke, as I knew his worth and abilities, and his firm attachment to his Prussian Majesty.

"The King of Prussia then asked me abruptly how I stood with Mr. Pitt : I answered, I had always lived with him as a friend, that I believed him to be a man of honour and probity, and a real friend to the Prussian Alliance.

"I took the liberty to add, that whoever had been the cause of my recal, I was much obliged to them, as it had procured me so honourable and so favourable a testimony from his Majesty, which I valued more than any thing that all the English ministers could do for me. To this he said very obligingly, 'I have only done you justice, but your people do not know what they

would be att,' and then begun to talk with some *aigreur* against Mr. Pitt, which however he soon dropped upon my taking his part, and saying, that perhaps there might be something else at bottom.

"When I saw the King the next day, the 8th, he asked me if I had yet received any other letter: I answered, I had not. 'Why does not your friend the Duke of Newcastle stand by you? you have done nothing to deserve to be recalled, but,' says he, 'I hear you are charged with being the cause of the Duke of Cumberland's signing the Convention of Closter Seven, having wrote to him in so desponding a way.' I answered immediately, that I wished his Majesty had seen all the letters that had passed between me and his Royal Highness; that if I had erred it was in making my relations of his Prussian Majesty's situation more favourable than they really were, but that I had done it with a good intention not to discourage his Royal Highness, and that I knew the very worst accounts would be transmitted through the channel of the Hanover ministers, to obviate which I had always in my relations increased the advantages, and diminished the losses his army had sustained, keeping always within the bounds of probability.

"One circumstance I must mention, as it shows his Prussian Majesty's attention to me: he asked me at dinner about Mr. Pitt's person, &c., to which, after I had answered, he said, '*N'est il pas pédant? avouez le.*' I replied, '*Point de tout; il a beaucoup des connoissances, beaucoup de gout, et infiniement d'Eloquence,*' and his

Majesty observing that I was uneasy had the goodness immediately to drop the conversation."

The incapacity of the younger Pitt as an administrator, particularly as a war-minister, is now pretty generally admitted, even by those who agreed with him as to the necessity of war. Warren Hastings, in a letter to Mr. Addington, published in Dr. Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth, (vol. ii., p. 276), says :

"In what is your administration defective? I adopt the language of others when I answer, IN ORATORY ; IN THAT WASTE OF WORDS AND TIME, WHICH IS THE INVARIABLE SUBSTITUTE FOR USEFUL MATTER, AND PROGRESSIVE ACTION."

In the same publication, Sir William Middleton, Bart., of Suffolk, a country member, writes :

"The present lavish, jobbing, imperious system (Pitt's), racks and jars the machine of state so much that the consequences must be dreaded by all."

Lord Ellenborough on the same subject.

"20*th October*, 1805.

"The wanton waste of public money which presents itself to view in every direction must soon undo us in point of finance, as some late measures have irretrievably done in point of fame."

With the elder Pitt there was the same "lavish, imperious system," the same "wanton waste of public money ;" but the incapacity of the elder Pitt in the

same line is not so apparent, because of the achievements accomplished by the genius of Clive and of Wolfe ; the chief honour was at the time given to him. This appears in the three following letters from Mitchell to him. But whatever difference of opinion there may be as to Pitt's practical abilities, the compliment paid to his fairness, candour, and honesty will be generally admitted to be well merited.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Pitt.

Breslaw, 8th January, 1759.

Sir,

It is to me the greatest satisfaction to be able to assure you that his Prussian Majesty is highly pleased with the measures pursued by the King's ministers, and with the fair, candid, and honest manner in which they have behaved to him.

If anything could add to the joy I felt on this occasion, it was to hear his Prussian Majesty make the parallel between his former ally and his present, and the comparison between the behaviour of the French and English ministers.

But amidst general applause it would be unjust to conceal from you the very particular and distinguished approbation with which that monarch has been pleased to honour your conduct.

The Prussian ministers at London having transmitted to their master an account of what you said in the House of Commons when it was proposed to address the King not to deliver up Louisburg to the French, by

any subsequent treaty of peace, the King of Prussia admired the firmness of your behaviour in replying instantly in the manner you did, and said the declaration you made on that occasion was like a great statesman and an honest man. He concluded with these words, "Enfin c'etoit un Coup de Maître."

I beg your acceptance of a Berlin almanack, and of my hearty wishes for your health and prosperity.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Pitt.

Landshutt, 20th May, 1759.

SINCE I had the honour of your most obliging private letter of the 26th January last, nothing has happened here which has not been mentioned in my correspondence with the Earl of Holdernesse. But yesterday, in the conversation I had with the King of Prussia, some things dropped from him which I think my duty to acquaint you with in particular.

After that monarch had expressed his warmest wishes for peace, and expatiated on the dangerous situation in which he was, he asked me, "But can your ministers make a peace? Are things yet in that situation?" I answered, "I was sure they wished for peace," and says he, "I hope I shall not be forgot." My reply was prevented by the King's adding immediately, "No, I am in no danger; Mr. Pitt is an honest man, and firm; my interests are safe in his hands." I took the liberty of saying that, from a very long correspondence with you,

I was firmly persuaded his Majesty in the end would find you really was what he now thought you to be.

The King then changed the conversation, and talking of his own situation, said if you was to write all you see and all you know of it, you would hardly be believed by your own ministers.

My letters to Lord Holdernesse will inform you of the rest of this memorable conversation, but in my private letters to him and to the Duke of Newcastle, I have only mentioned in general the King's ardent desire of peace.

I have the honour to be,

With great and sincere respect,

Dear Sir,

Your's.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Pitt.

Torgau, 22nd Oct. 1759.

After returning you my most hearty thanks for your kind letter of the 12th of June last, permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on the glorious success of his Majesty's arms by sea and land, which we here on the Continent ascribe to your manly councils, and expect to feel the farther effects of them where it is much wanted, for I must not conceal from you that I think the Prussian affairs are still in a very doubtfull and dangerous situation, but I cannot despair whilst the hero lives.

What he has done with a handfull of men since the 12th August last, is equally incredible, as what his

enemies, at the head of numerous armies, have left undone since that period.

A few days before his Prussian Majesty left the camp of Schmotseiffen, in order to fight the Russians, talking at table of England, he said, "Il faut avouer que l'Angleterre à été long temps en travail, et qu'elle a beaucoup soufferte pour produire Mr. Pitt, mais à la fin elle est accouché d'un homme." Such a testimony, from such a Prince, crowns you with honour and fills me with pleasure.

I am, &c.

With all Pitt's lofty insolence, however, and real incapacity, there was a touch about him of the magnanimous and the generous. A pusillanimous, mean man would have borne a grudge to Mitchell and taken the first favourable opportunity to indulge his spite. The following letter, however, written to thank Mr. Pitt for the cordial support he had given when the King was pleased to honour Mitchell with the additional character of his plenipotentiary, shows that Pitt had in some degree, at least, forgiven Mitchell for his severe criticism on his expedition against Rochefort. We say in some degree, for we do not anywhere find much appearance of cordiality on the part of Pitt. We should add that there is no trace of resentment towards Pitt having been entertained by Mitchell.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Pitt.

Willsdruff, 2*nd Dec.* 1759.

My Lord Holdernesse having been so good to inform me of the warm and cordial part you was pleased to take in procuring for me the late distinguished mark of the King's favour, I cannot omit this earliest opportunity of returning you my most hearty thanks. I have from my youth ambitioned your friendship ; judge then what joy this public and unsolicited mark of your approbation of my conduct must give me. It will enable me to persist with spirit, and to act with vigour in the thorny way which I am destined to tread.

Believe me, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

DISPATCHES AND CORRESPONDENCE—CAMPAIGN OF 1756—EPISTOLARY STYLE OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE—FREDERIC'S SYSTEM AS TO DISPATCHES CONFIDED TO HIS POST OFFICE—COUNT FINKENSTEIN AND SIR C. H. WILLIAMS—LETTERS FROM THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO MITCHELL—ANECDOTE OF THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN—BATTLE OF LOBOSITZ OR LOWOSITZ—CAMP OF PIRNA.

I NOW proceed to give some portions of Mitchell's correspondence and dispatches. In regard to the dispatches from Mitchell to his government in England, I have endeavoured to select for publication here such as throw light on the character of Frederic, and on the mode in which Mitchell conducted his diplomatic business with him. Many of these dispatches will also be found interesting from the adventures, incidents, and anecdotes related in them.

The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Mitchell.

Newcastle House, May 28th, 1756.

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged for your two kind letters. I read with great pleasure your dispatches to my Lord Holdernesse. I was very glad to see the good disposition of the King of Prussia, and not less so that you had so well executed your commission, and fully

answered the King's views, and the expectations of your friends. I found you had been so good as to give some attention to the hints which I had suggested to you, and I told the King that I saw, by your letters, you had had a regard to what I had insinuated to you. As I write to you in confidence, I must acquaint you with an apprehension I have, which may possibly be of some consequence both to you and me. I know, in a manner not to be doubted, that the King of Prussia in one of his letters applies himself singly to my Lord Holdernesse, as if he was the only minister in whom *he* could confide, or with whom he need have any confidence. Whether this arises from some silly, mistaken accounts which his minister here has sent him, or from some old prejudices to me, I am not certain. But you know * * [9] the fact too well to imagine there can be any foundation for the one or the other. You will, therefore, take some occasion, unassisted, to say what you may think proper upon the subject. My situation here, my present disposition towards his Prussian Majesty, and I * * [9] the first idea of our late aliances came, who projected it, and who carried it into execution? The King is extremely pleased with you,[1] and with the accounts you send of his Prussian Majesty; I desire you would tell the King of Prussia that I have sent you word so; you may add that, however concerned I am

[9] Not legible.

[1] Of the King's opinion of the writer of this letter, so much could not be said, "You see," said George II., "I am compelled to take the Duke of Newcastle to be my Minister, who is not fit to be chamberlain in the smallest court of Germany." Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. i., p. 329.

that the Court of Vienna has taken this very unjust and unadvised step, I see with pleasure that it is the work only of one man, Count Kaunitz, about whom, you know, I have long been doubtful. That I wish and that I endeavour, by the means of the Court of Spain and Sardinia, to bring the Court of Vienna back, but that in the mean time the great point is to hinder Russia from falling into the same mistaken conduct; which I hope we shall be able to effectuate. That, however, it is in my opinion absolutely necessary to concert measures with his Prussian Majesty, and that I saw with pleasure that he was ready to do his part, and to employ his whole time in conjunction with the King, if necessary. His proposal about Sweden is extremely relished here, and I hope his Prussian Majesty will adhere to it. You will * *[2] express to him his Majesty's satisfaction in the assurance he has given you that *he* would not renew his treaty with France. The French give, on the contrary, everywhere that his Prussian Majesty has * *[2] them to renew this treaty, and that they (the French) have hitherto avoided giving an answer. This you may assert positively, could anything be done in Sweden, it would dissappoint at once all the French schemes in the birth. France is an object; but if the King of Prussia will help us in that, we should be able then to get him and us more friends. * * *[3]In short, we must see how to

[2] Not legible.

[3] After various painful attempts, looking at it backwards, upside down, &c., and sundry experiments in punctuation, I have been compelled to abandon

play our game with the cards we have ; nobody can tell what with the event of the operations in the Mediterranean, if we have any good fortune, and Admiral Byng arrives (as I hope he must do) before Marshal Rushton receives his additional succours, Port Mahon may be saved and the French there beat. I have a notion that the King of Sardinia, perhaps Spain, the Republick of Venice, and other Italian powers, may even be glad to see France (and especially joined with the House of Austria) absolute masters of the Mediterranean. The late treaty between the Empress and France will alarm, and most particularly so, the Protestant powers everywhere. I should therefore think that this might rouse Holland, if they could see any hopes of succour from the King of Prussia, who has hitherto been always looked upon as an instrument in the hands of France to oppress them. I wish, therefore, that you would sound the King of Prussia how far the King might be enabled to assure the Princess Royal, and the well intentioned party in Holland, of his support, in case France, in conjunction with the Court of Vienna, or by their connivance should make any attempt to force the Republick into their measures. The cause of religion will work much in Holland when they see they can be supported.

the long sentence which follows this in his Grace's epistle as absolutely unintelligible. These epistolary performances are evidently conceived and executed in a kindred spirit with those oral effusions which Horace Walpole describes so amusingly. His oratory has been characterised as resembling that of Justice Shallow, as "nonsense effervescent with animal spirits and impertinence." The reader of these letters of his, will probably think his written not unlike his spoken eloquence.

The King of Prussia, a great Protestant person, will be supported and adored here, when he acts for the Protestant cause, the * *[4] of * *,[4] the support of the statholders in Holland, and this against France, these are, and ever ought to be an object. I am under great apprehension that we may lose Russia; they are certainly very angry with us for our treaty with Prussia, but as have *yet* the Chancelor Pestuchy and are in possession of a subsidiary treaty, I think we have a good chance to preserve it. You see I write to you upon the same plan which I suggested to you before you left England. Let me know how the King of Prussia tastes it, and what we may depend upon. As to your request about your * *[4] appointment, it is certainly not agreeable to precedent, and will seem less reasonable, as you was paid during a long absence in England. But if I can find a way to serve you, without making a very bad precedent for the future, I shall be glad to do it.

I am, dear Sir, ever yours,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

P.S.—The Duchess of Newcastle sends her compliments to you.

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

London, May 28th, 1756.

DEAR MITCHEL,

I am so heartily sick of pen and ink that I must be very laconick in answer to your private letter; and, indeed, I am so much fatigued with the hard work

[4] Not legible.

I have had for some days past, that I would have excused myself from writing anything more to you, were it not to tell you how much I approve the opening of our correspondence. You have divided your matter very properly, and your stile is truly that of a man of business. Go on as you have begun, and everything will go well. Your fair and frank manner will, I dare say, gain you the confidence and esteem of the Court where you reside, and you may depend upon being punctually instructed. You 'll observe many passages in Keith's letter that must be softened when you come to talk with the King of Prussia ; chiefly the warm expressions of her Imperial Majesty in the conversations Keith had with her.

We have nothing new from the Mediterranean as yet.

Dear Mitchell, adieu ; je n'en puis plus.

HOLDERNESSE.

P.S.—Trouvez occasion de me mettre aux pieds de S. M. Pne. ; temoignez lui combien je me trouve flatté d'avoir pu me conserver quelque part dans son gracieux souvenir, that I shall look upon it as the most glorious period of my life to have contributed to establish that happy union which so fortunately subsists between his Prussian Majesty and the King our master.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Berlin, Thursday, 3rd June, 1756.

MY LORD,

Last Sunday morning, the 30th May, the King sent for me privately ; after expressing his concern for

what had happened,[5] and assuring me that every thing should be done to facilitate the discovery, he asked what I had wrote concerning Russia, &c. I told him fairly the contents of my letters, and offered, if his Majesty pleased, to bring the rough draughts of my letters and translate them to him myself. He said there was no occasion. He was satisfied, and owned that I had not mistaken his meaning, but he seemed uneasy that the letters were not yet found, notwithstanding the orders he had given.

When I told the King what I had wrote concerning the Prince of Hesse, he said, I will deny that I ever said such things, and lay it upon you ; I will tell him that you are an enthusiast, and so jealous a Protestant, that you cannot think with candor of one that has changed his religion. To this I agreed.

[5] This refers to the robbery of a courier who was the bearer of some of Mitchell's dispatches. It has been said it was done by Frederic's orders. Thiebault relates the following anecdote illustrative of the course pursued by Frederic with regard to dispatches *confided* to his post-office. "M. de Guines (the French ambassador) having ascertained that his letters and dispatches were opened and copied at the Berlin post-office, sent thither his dispatches written in cypher early one morning, enclosed in a note to the post-master, couched in the following terms: 'I send the enclosed dispatches as early as seven in the morning, instead of waiting till the regular hour, that the post-master may have time to get them copied early enough to go by the mail of to-day. The reason of my using this precaution is, that the dispatches are important, and it is essential they should not be delayed; consequently, I should feel great uneasiness at their being kept till the next post, as has been the case with some of my dispatches.' This sort of diplomatic plain dealing struck everyone with astonishment: some of the parties threw their eyes on the ground; others assumed a malignant smile. Frederic was among them the person the most completely mortified, the disgraceful proceedings having been published so as to convey an idea of his sanction and connivance; accordingly, he ever afterwards took his measures in such a manner that no letters were in future opened but in obscure towns lying near the frontiers of his states."

I likewise owned to him what I had wrote to your Lordship about the communication of intelligence. He seemed pleased with my openness, and said the cypher must be used for the future with anything that I tell you. I gave him my word that it should.

The King then read to me a private letter of intelligence, dated from Paris, the 21st May. It was wrote in cypher, and had been just decyphered. It contained in substance that the treaty between the Court of Vienna and France was signed on the 7th, that the Court of Vienna was not to act nor take any part in the present broils, that this treaty had been communicated to the Spanish Minister at Paris, who seemed very well pleased with it, as he thought it would confine the war to the sea only; the other particulars in this letter were precisely the same as those mentioned in the paper of intelligence, dated the 27th May.

Yesterday, the 2nd June, Count Podewils, by the King's order, read to me a letter from Stockholm of the 21st May, the purport of which is, that the arrival of *Douglass* at Petersbourg occasions many conjectures; they consider the emissary as an instrument to prepare a great negociation, for the conclusion of a triple alliance between the Courts of Vienna, France, and Petersbourg, in which if he succeeds, the Marquis de Havincourt, the French Ambassador in Sweden, will immediately go to Petersbourg with the character of Ambassador.

Other letters say that Count Esterhasi, Ambassador from the Court of Vienna, openly protests, and produces

this *Douglass*, and particularly that he has introduced him to the Chancellor and to the Vice-Chancellor.

Accounts from Dantzig say, that this *Douglass* receives many letters from the French resident *Dumont*, at Dantzig, and he, *Douglass*, addresses his packets to said *Dumont* at Dantzig.

The latest letters from Vienna say, that that Court give out that they are sure of the Court of Petersbourg, and Count Keyserling had lately a conference with Count Kaunitz, with which Kaunitz seemed highly satisfied.

I must now acquaint your Lordship with two things that give me real pain, as they come through my channel ; but the King's service must, and ever shall, take place of every other consideration.

Count Podewils told me that some secret letters from Petersbourg bear, that Sir Charles Williams,[6] having rendered himself very obnoxious by his insolent behaviour, had everything to fear, not only for his own person, but with regard to his dignity as ambassador, which he feared might be affronted. He concluded by saying that Russia was of the utmost importance. He wished we had a wise man there.

Another thing he mentioned to me was, that Mr. Cressener had made himself disagreeable to the Elector of Cologne by his indiscreet manner of talking,

[6] Young Horace Walpole's "man of parts," and the "infallible genius" with whom old Horace's "little common sense could not keep pace." However, see *post*, Dispatch of 3rd Feb., 1757.

and that he should not have been accredited to the Circle. I told him Cressener was not, and that he had only a letter to the Senate of Cologne. He told me I was mistaken, and desired me to write about it, for, says he, though the Elector cannot be gained, he ought not to be affronted.

June 3rd, after this letter was finished, Count Podewils sent to desire me to stop the courier, till he should see me. He told me that he had just received a courier from Potsdam, and communicated to me the letter of which your Lordship has a copy inclosed (in the French cypher); it is from Monsieur Knyphausen, the King's Minister at Paris.

I shall make no observation upon it, only that letter was wrote before it was known at Paris that his Majesty had declared war.

Count Podewils read to me *in confidence* a letter from the Prussian Minister at Vienna, confirming the accounts of the peevishness and ill-humour of that Court, and giving an account of their behaviour at the same time they gave their answer to Mr. Keith, but as this letter is filled with conjectures and suspicions, and Mr. Keith will certainly have informed your Lordship of the truth of everything, I did not think it worth while to make an abstract of it.

It is wrote likewise from Paris that Count Stahremberg labours to unite Spain with France.

I have the honour, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Berlin, Tuesday, 22nd June, 1756.

My Lord,

The King returned to Potsdam only last Saturday. The next day Count Finkenstein told me that he had received orders from his master to signify in the strongest terms to me the sense he had of the mark of attention and confidence, on the part of the King of Great Britain, in the early communication which I was directed to make by your Lordship's letter of the 8th instant.

As Count Finkenstein had orders to talk to me on the affairs of Russia, I communicated to him the news from that country in the manner I have mentioned to your Lordship in my letter of the 18th, by *Pollock.*

He said, that by the accounts they had from Russia, the interest of England was upon the decline ; that Sir Charles Hanbury Williams was on a very bad footing at Court ; that Douglass was protected not only by the Great Chancellor's brother, by the Vice-Chancellor, by Schuwallow, but also by the Great Chancellor himself *pour mortifier Williams.* He then insisted on the absolute necessity there was to recal Sir Charles, and to reimplace him by some man of temper and conduct,[7]

[7] As a counterpart to this portrait of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, by Count Finkenstein, we subjoin the following portrait of Count Finkenstein, by Sir Charles :—"He has very much the air of a French *petit-maître manqué,* and is extremely affected in everything he says and does. . . . Count Finkenstein, whom everybody calls Count Fink, is very like the late Lord Hervey, and yet his face is the ugliest I ever saw. But when he speaks, his affectation, the motion of his eyes and shoulders, all his different gestures and grimaces, bring Lord Hervey very strongly into my mind."—Walpole's Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of George II., vol. i., p. 515, Appendix, F. G. H. Judging

who might be able to restore our affairs in that Court, by acting cordially and confidentially with the Great Chancellor. He named Mr. Villiers as a proper person, and one in whom the King his master would have confidence, but upon my asking a question, he added that he had no orders from the King, but it was his own thought only.

I sent your Lordship, in my *secret* letter of the 15th, by post, a draught of the answer intended to be given to the Austrian and French ministers upon their communication of the Treaty of Versailles. That answer I am informed was given the next day.

This day I had a long conference with Count Finkenstein, who is, I think, well disposed, and very able in business.

He read to me several letters of intelligence, of which I shall give your Lordship the best account I can.

Monsieur de Klingraff writes from Vienna, that it was said that a camp of sixty thousand men was to be formed in Bohemia ; that some regiments in Hungary were already in motion towards Moravia ; and that some regiments of hussars were also to be sent thither.

The paper of intelligence marked C. deserves the greatest attention ; it comes from Monsieur de Slab-

from what is now known, or, at least, surmised, this was rather a strange account of a Hervey to submit to Horace Walpole the younger, who, independently of other evidence, was, as regarded both the bodily and mental type, certainly not a Walpole. The bodily and mental characteristics of Sir Robert Walpole and his brother Horace were those of English country gentlemen of plain, rough, manly character and manners, and of superior sense and sagacity. The bodily and mental characteristics of Horace Walpole the younger were those of a gentleman-usher, or, to borrow the phrase above quoted, of his friend Sir C. H. Williams, of a French *petit-maître manqué.*

brendorff, the King's minister in Silesia, and his Majesty gives full credit to it.

The King says in his letter to Count Finkenstein that it cannot be wondered at that he should be alert, as the danger is imminent and pressing on his side; and the House of Austria in resentment for his treaty with the King of Great Britain, and France *par depit* that she cannot attack Hanover, will act together and attack his territories; that he sees himself in the situation of having, in about two months' time, three camps formed upon his frontiers, one Russian and two Austrian. He imagines that the intention must be, by the march of so many troops on every side of him, either to overawe him and hinder him from traversing the Election of the King of the Romans, (if intended to be completed this autumn), or to attack his territories on one side by the Russians, while on the other the House of Austria make their attack through Saxony.

In this perillous situation his Majesty says, (though he has had no new treaty with England), he trusts to the good faith of the King of Great Britain, and to the assistance he will give him effectually to support the engagements he has with England which alone[8] are the cause of the present danger. But he is very desirous to know immediately and without loss of time, what assistance he may reckon upon from England in the present juncture, in case he should be attacked by all or any of the powers above named, and in what shape

[8] A most palpable misrepresentation. His own aggressive conduct in regard to Silesia was the cause.

this assistance is to come, whether in ships or money, for it imports him greatly to be satisfied as to these particulars without the loss of one moment, in order to be able to make proper arrangements and dispositions; and as his enemies seem to be very active and alert, he expects to find in his friends the same degree of activity and expedition with a much superior one of cordiality and good faith.

I perceive that the King of Prussia thinks matters so far gone in Russia, that it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to restore them. He wishes that we may not suffer ourselves to be the dupes of Russia, who may endeavour to amuse, in order to hurt us the more; at the same time he thinks that no pains nor expense ought to be spared to recover and re-establish our interest in that country; but in the present circumstances, as success at Petersbourg is very uncertain, he thinks such measures should be concerted forthwith, as may enable his Majesty and his allies to defend themselves against the intrigues of the House of Austria and of France, even if joined by the power of Russia.

I have in my letter of the 10th of June acquainted your Lordship with the King's opinion upon an alliance to be made with some of the Protestant Princes in the Empire. To that I shall only add that something may be expected from Denmark, for besides the natural connection the King of Great Britain has with that country, the King of Denmark and several of his ministers have lately expressed some uneasiness from the apprehension that a war will soon be begun in

Germany on the score of religion. The King of Prussia thinks that this disposition in the King of Denmark may be improved so as to detach him from, or at least to render him very cool and moderate in the support of the new French and Austrian system.

I have carefully concealed much of Sir Hanbury Williams's letter of the 5th to your Lordship, and endeavoured to palliate as far as was possible the bad situation of our affairs in that country, but the King of Prussia, who thinks of everything, gave a hint to his minister to tell me, that if we had not yet paid the subsidy due to Russia by the treaty, that we ought to consider of making that payment (till we were well assured of the sincerity of that Court) as the money would probably be made use of to make war against him. I pretended to be uninformed of that transaction, but promised to mention it to your Lordship.

In case the King's interest and influence at the Court of Petersbourg should be restored and established, I must mention to your Lordship a thought which the King of Prussia had, viz. : That the treaty of Versailles might be put in such light to the Court of Russia as to awaken their pride and to raise their jealousy against France and the house of Austria, not only as being entered into without a previous concert with them, but in some measure as pointing out the territories of Russia to be invaded by the Turks, for the mutual guarantee and the aid of twenty-four thousand men extends to *all the dominions of the Empress Queen.* But it is to be feared that either Russia has been privy

to this treaty or may accede to it, as she will certainly be invited. I thought proper to mention this hint, though I fear it can be of no use, but your Lordship can best judge of that.

I shall now mention to your Lordship some news from Petersbourg, which, though not of the same authenticity with the rest of the intelligence in this letter, may still however deserve some degree of notice. It is of the 5th or 6th of May. The Czarina said to Count Esterhasi that if the Empress Queen was attacked by Prussia or by France, she would assist with all her force, having placed, for the service of the Court of Vienna, her troops in Courland, Livonia, and upon the frontiers of Poland, and that she would employ them with pleasure to support the Empress Queen and her other allies.

As I think it of great importance that your Lordship should receive this letter soon, I have recommended to Cleverley to make all the expedition possible in order to reach the packet of Saturday next, and in case that should be sailed, I have desired Colonel Yorke to order an extraordinary packet to carry him forthwith into England.

I have the honour, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S. Tuesday night, past 10 o'clock.—While the letters were folding, and the post horses waiting at the door, I received a message from Count Finkenstein that the King desired to see me at Potsdam next morning. I have therefore stopped the courier till my return.

The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Mitchell.

Newcastle House, July 9th, 1756.

DEAR SIR,

I cannot let this messenger go without expressing my great satisfaction with the contents of your letters by Cleverley, and giving you a most convincing proof of my thorough confidence in you, and dependence upon you. I read your letters with the greatest attention, and (as is my way) put down my thoughts as to the orders to be sent you upon them. I talked to the King out of my paper; I gave a copy of it to my Lord Holdernesse. His Majesty then extreamly approved every part of it, except that the King fears that the entering immediately into another treaty with the King of Prussia, before we know the event of our present negotiation in Russia, may possibly give new umbrage to that Court * *[9] to our enemies to trust us there. And therefore the King is ready to agree upon the mutual succours, but would suspend the formal treaty till we know the event of our treaty with the Empress of Russia. You see, and the King of Prussia should see, how desirous I am to establish the most perfect union and concert with him, and yet he goes on in his sily notion that my Lord Holdernesse is *his only friend.* That Lord Holdernesse is his friend at present is certain, and deserves his confidence, but if his Prussian Majesty thinks that he is his *only* friend, or the *only* one that wishes, or that can promote an union and

[9] Not legible.

concert with him, he is as unjust as he is *undescerning*. But this I say only to you in confidence ; I suppose I owe it to my friend *Michel*[1] here, with whom I have not time to spend useless and insignificant hours. My Lord Holdernesse's letters will, I daresay, be a superior instruction to you, but I had not a mind that you should be ignorant of my ideas, and the use I made of them here. I trust to your honor and friendship, that you will not mention to any one creature your having received this paper, for I should be most unhappy if Lord Holdernesse should know it ; he might imagine that I was sending you orders, when I only mean to give you a notion of my own way of thinking. It is impossible to be better satisfied than the King is with your conduct, which makes me very happy ; or with the present * *[2] of the King of Prussia. But I cannot conceal from you that the French brag of the King of Prussia's steady adherence to them, and I have good reason to think that my old friend * *[2] (to whom I beg you would make my compliments) writes word to his Court that the King of Prussia and all the Court are Frenchmen, and *rejoice at their success*. This is an anecdote worth your attention.

Though I am for taking measures with the King of Prussia, it is upon a supposition of his * *[2] separation from France, and if the Court of Vienna gives his Prussian Majesty no disturbance, we should avoid doing anything that may make them return to their old

[1] The King of Prussia's Minister at the Court of St. James's.
[2] Not legible.

allies (now happily joined with Prussia). * *[3] But we must not lose Prussia, now disposed to act with us, for fear only of discouraging the Queen of Hungary, who has acted such an ungrateful part by joining with our enemies.

I am, dear Sir,

Ever most affectionately your's,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

P.S.—Jones will write to you about your appointments.

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

July 27th, 1756.

DEAR MITCHEL,

Whatever fault you may find with me you cannot say I suffer our correspondence to languish, or that I do not keep you constantly instructed. I wait with impatience for answers to my long dispatches of the 9th inst., which I am sorry to find were not come to your hands on the 17th; as every appearance of an alarm from the French towards the Empire touches the King nearly. You may imagine we want to hear what assistance we may depend upon from the King of Prussia, and from whence it is intended to be sent; hitherto we have nothing specifick; good words and fair promises will not do alone, and assistance between allies must be reciprocal; we are willing to do our part, but expect a return. France is our object; hitherto nothing appears from your quarter aimed at them. This is the point you must never loose sight of, and

[3] Not legible.

when you consider my letter of the 9th, you will see all your instructions are drawn up upon that principle. I don't mention this from any suspicion that you mistake my meaning. Your letters shew the contrary, but it cannot be too much inculcated.

I hope soon to receive from you some little anecdotes; you may depend upon my caution in the use of them.

Adieu mon cher Mitchel,
je vous aime toujours bien sincerement,
HOLDERNESSE.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Berlin, Thursday, 12th August, 1756.

MY LORD,

When I delivered to the King of Prussia the written answer to the *Mémoire Raisonné*, he said he had no doubt of our good intentions, but wished that we were a little more active, and did not lose time. I represented to him the multiplicity of objects that divided the attention of the King's ministers at this time, and took the liberty to add, that as his ideas had been so much approved of by his Majesty and his ministers, I hoped he would continue to suggest his thoughts in the same free manner he had hitherto done. He was so good to promise he would, and accordingly, last Tuesday, the 10th, I received the paper marked B. from Count Podewils. It was all written with his own hand, and he had ordered the inclosed fair copy to be made out for me.

I am so sensible that every thought of the King of Prussia's must suffer greatly by being put into other words than his own, that I shall only take notice of such things as are either not mentioned at all, or but slightly touched by him.

As to the Dutch, he wishes, that nothing was done to sour or disgust them, and he fears that our claiming at this time the stipulations of the Treaty 1678 will do harm. He thinks the great and only point to be pushed at present, is the augmentation of their troops, which once gained, alliances may then be formed.

He has several times said, he wished we would take care of ourselves, by making such alliances as may be really useful, *pour Moi je ne vous serai point à Charge*, and lately he added, that he perceived there was still in England a hankering after the old system, though it existed no more, and that Kaunitz had been insolent enough to say, if England succeeded to debauch Russia from the Court of Vienna, the family upon the throne might suffer for it.

With regard to an invasion of his Majesty's kingdoms, he looks upon it as a wild and romantic scheme, which can never succeed, unless there was a party within to favour the invaders; that, however, it will be proper to look narrowly after the known enemies to the government, and to inquire about the English connections of the Maréchal Belleisle, so much boasted of in France.

If the Empress Queen gives a fair and favourable

answer to his last demand, he thinks he can secure the peace of Germany for this year and the next.

I am persuaded that the King of Prussia wishes to avoid breaking with France, and yet the behaviour of the French Court disgusts him daily more and more. They do not study his humour, and he believes they have given him up, in order to please their new ally, the Empress Queen. This will naturally lead him to desire to strengthen and extend his alliance with the King, so that all that is wanted will be to encourage and improve this disposition in the King of Prussia as often as it shows itself; and I think the intrigues of the Court of Vienna in France have been of as great advantage to his Majesty's affairs at this Court, as they have been detrimental to them in Russia.

When I call to mind Monsieur de Valory's letter to the King of Prussia, of the 26th July, a copy of which was sent in my dispatch of the 30th, and consider the appearance of that gentleman since, as far as I may venture to conjecture from looks only, I am of opinion, that he has orders to leave this Court, as soon as the Prussian troops begin to enter Silesia.

As it is now reported that the King of Prussia intends to command his army in person, I imagine it will be agreeable to the King's intentions that I should offer to attend the King of Prussia, when he takes the field, as nothing can be done here in his absence.

I have the honour, &c.

AND$^{R.}$ MITCHELL.

Paper marked B. referred to in the preceding letter.

[*Copie de la propre main du Roy*].

Potsdam, 9me d'Aout, 1756.

Au Sieur Mitchell,

Par les nouvelles qui nous reviennent il paroit assuré que la France veut tenter encore cette année une descente sur les trois Royaumes Britanniques. Il faut esperer que les bonnes mesures qu'a pris le Gouvernment Anglois feront echouer cette expedition. Ou sait que l'escadre du Bailly de Conflans est de 13 vaisseaux de ligne, aux quels se doivent joindre 12 de l'escadre de Brest, le tout faisant 25 vaisseaux. Comme l'on sait que la flotte Angloise de la manche est bien superieure à celle des François : que les meilleurs amireaux [4] la commandent qu'ils sont avertis des desseins de leurs ennemis et qu'ils pourront les ruiner ; on croit pouvoir etre en repos sur cet article : cependant on prie le ministére de ne poin [5] negliger *l'avis qu'on leur a donné d'intelligences secrétes, que le Marechal de Belleisle a en Angleterre, et qui si elles sont telles que les Francois les debitent sous main, seroit capable de mettre Le Roy d'Angleterre dans de terribles embarras.* Les affairs de terre ne sont pas dans un moindre etat de crise. La Prussie a communiqué à la Cour de Londres en quels termes elle se trouve avec

[4] We may mention here, once for all, that Frederic, among all his achievements, never accomplished that of spelling either French or German. We give his spelling as much as possible in its original state, as one of the characteristics of the man.

l'Imperatrice Reine. Selon toutes le meilleurs de Vienne la rupture paroit inevitable, on s'en rapporte d'ailleurs à la reponse de la Cour de Vienne qui decidera de la paix ou de la guerre, et qui sera communiquée fidellement a sa Majesté Britannique, de memeque tout ce qui se passera ulterieurement. L'on peut prévoir que les troubles de l'Allemagne, et peut-être l'expedition des Francois manquée sur l'Angleterre obligeront la France de transporter la guerre sur le continent ; ce qui doit donner la plus grande attention aux Cours de Londres et de Berlin, pour n'etre pressés ou depouroû de ce coté là. On se rappellera sans doute qu'on avoit proposé de faire une alliance avec la republique de la Hollande et de l'encourager en méme tems de se mettre dans une situation plus respectable qu'elle ne se trouve apresent. Puis donc que les deux Cours sont egalement intéressées a cet objet, l'on se persuade que le moyen le plus efficace d'y parvenir seroit d'instruire les ministres des deux couronnes du dessein qu'elles ont de faire une alliance defensive avec la republique, de la porter à faire une augmentation de 30_{m} hommes de troupes de terre, et par Rapport à l'Angleterre d'exiger le secours d'un nombre de vaisseaux, &c. Que l'on ne généroit point ces ministres, quant au choix des moyens qu'ils jugeront a propos d'employer pour cette fin ; mais que ce seroit a eux de se concerter avec les Hollandois bien-intentionnés pour arranger leur plan sur leurs avis et pour le mettre de concert en execution : il est a croire que des personnes qui voyent par leurs yeux,

qui sçavent la façon depenser de la nation ou ils se trouvent, et qui se servent de la boussole de gens bien-intentionnés pour se guider reûssiront infailliblement dans leurs desseins. On a appris par un emissaire revenu de la Lombardie, que les Autrichiens et les François y sont extremement attentifs aux mouvements du Roy de Sardaigne. Ceci fait croire que si ce Prince debitoit simplement la nouvelle de quelque augmentation dans son militaire (quand même il ne la feroit pas), que cela tiendroit les troupes Autrichiennes de la Lombardie et les troupes Françoises du Dauphiné, et de la Provence en echec, et produiroit ce bien que ce seroit autant moins d'ennemis à craindre pour l'Allemagne.

Il resulte de toutes les nouvelles qui viennent de Petersbourg que le Grand Chancelier aura peut etre assez de credit pour empecher la conclusion d'un traité entre sa Maitresse et la France, mais il poroit seur qu'ils se meleront de la guerre, que la Reine d'Hongrie veut faire à la Prusse. Dans cette situation, l'Angleterre n'a aucune espece de secours à attendre de la Russie. Elle apprendra meme que la Russie fera la guerre aux alliés de l'Angleterre, ce qui fait penser que si les subsides destinés pour cette Cour etoient repandus a Brunswig, Cassel, Gotha, et chez le Prince dé Darmstadt, que l'Angleterre en retireroit dans la crise presente un avantage plus reel pour la defense dés Etats de Hanovre. On a fait un calcul par lequel il est clair (: L'Augmentation et l'alliance concluë en Hollande :) que le Roy d'Angleterre pourra disposer dans l'Empire d'une armée de preés 80_m hommes ;

ce sont des efforts il est vrai qui tomberont sur le Gouvernement Anglois ; mais les François en feroient-ils moins ? On est seur qu'ils craignent la guerre de terre, d'une part par la depense immense que leur coute leur flotte, et cette armée dont l'entretien seroit tres conteux, d'autre part par des raisons de Cour et des interets particuliers de certaines personnes qui craignent que la guerre etant sur le Continent le Roy de France voulut encore se presenter à la tête de ses armées : mais malgré ces raisons que l'on vient d'alléguer il n'est pas douteux que si la France essuye un grand echec par mer, qu'elle ne reprendra ses desseins sur l'Electorat d'Hanovre, a quoi elle est excitée par la Cour de Vienne, qui desirant les troubles de l'Allemagne n'epargnera rien pour y embarquer la France le plus avant qu'elle pourra. On se rappelle à cette occasion qu'il avoit été fait mention de Porte Ottomanne dans le derniere Memoire, que comme il paroit que la delicatesse de sa Majesté Britannique seroit blessée des insinuations que Sieur Porter pourroit faire a Constantinople contre la Cour de Petersbourg, il paroit qu'il y auroit un autre chemin a prendre par lequel on parviendroit à la meme fin, qui seroit representer au grand Vizer tout le danger qui resulte pour l'Empire Ottomann de l'etroite alliance qui subsiste actuellement entre la Cour de Vienne et celle de France, et au cas que la guerre survint en Allemagne on pourroit y ajouter que ce seroit le moment propre pour les Turcs de profiter de cet Evenement pour les mettre a l'Abri des suites funestres que cette alliance pourroit leur

causer. Il seroit à souhaiter qu'après tous les menagements et tous les bons procedés que la Cour de Londres a eû pour celle de Petersbourg, elle peut y faire quelque progrès, mais il paroit que ce sera peine perduë ; on ajoute encore une reflexion a ceci, soumettant le tout aux lumieres superieures de sa Majesté Britannique, c'est que voyant le nouveau triumverat formé en Europe bien loin de conserver quelque menagement pour ses anciens allïes, s'achemine tout droit à l'execution de ses dangereux projets, il paroit juste que l'Angleterre et la Prusse bien loin de se laisser amuser par eux travaillent avec la meme vigilance pour s'opposer. Les anciens systemes ne sont plus, ce seroit vouloir courir apres un ombre, que les vouloir retablir, il y a des engagements trop forts qui lient a present ces puissances dictatrices du sort des Roy ; il ne reste aux puissances qui veulent s'opposer a leur tyrannie et aux proscriptions qu'elles meditent, qu'a former un systéme nouveau de leur coté pour qu'un nouvel equilibre se forme en Europe, et que la force puisse reprimir la violence et rompre des desseins pernicieux à tous ceux qui aiment leur patrie, leur liberté[5] et le bien de toute l'Europe.

[5] Frederic's notion of liberty resembled that of James the First, in his "True Law of Free Monarchies;" the freedom of the monarch being *inversely* as that of the subject. The concluding climax may have been the production of one of those fits of enthusiasm which, Voltaire says, made part of the strange, "antithetically mixed," character of Frederic. The words he uses sound in his mouth very much as "Liberty, equality, and universal philanthropy," in that of Robespierre.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Berlin, Friday, 20th August, 1756.

My Lord,

Last Wednesday the King of Prussia sent me the inclosed letter, the first part of which shows how much he has at heart our success with the republick of Holland, and he is firmly of opinion, that if a medium cannot be found to accommodate the disputes about the navigation, that all attempts to draw the republick into an alliance will be vain and ineffectual.

Though I have seen the King of Prussia since I received that letter, he said nothing to me of the declaration at the Court of Russia, by which their attempts this year have been frustrated, and as I had no knowledge of this fact, I took care not to mention it to him. Whence the King of Prussia has his intelligence I do not know ; I have only yet learned that Monsieur Swartz said, as he passed here, that the declaration the King's Ambassador made at the Court of Russia prevented the Russians from executing the project that had been framed of attacking the King of Prussia this year.

At all events, this story, whether true or false, has done good, and I cannot help thinking has had its weight to induce him to grant the eleven thousand men to his Majesty.

I urged the King of Prussia to increase the number of troops to twenty thousand, but when I found it impossible to make any impression, I said, I was persuaded that the King would be very sensible of this

mark of his friendship, and I think, if a compliment is made on the part of the King on this occasion, it will be of use to induce him to send more troops in case they should be wanted, and surely, the having eleven thousand of his troops, will facilitate the getting of ten or fifteen more, so soon as the situation of his affairs can permit his giving of them.

I have the honour, &c.

AND^R. MITCHELL.

Letter referred to in the above.

The King of Prussia to Mr. Mitchell.

À Potsdam ce 17*me d'Aout,* 1756.

MONSIEUR MITCHELL,

Vous ne devez pas vous etonner des soins que je me donne auprês du Roi votre maitre pour se porter à avoir quelque complaisance pour les Hollandois. Je fais a peu pres la meme chose chez les republicains. Vonder Hellen leur a dit en mon nom que pour eviter tout sujet de discussion avec l'Angleterre, j'avois ordonné à tous les negocians de mes etats de ne point transporter sur leurs vaisseaux des merchandises de contrebande aux François que j'esperois qu'ils voudroient faire la meme chose, qu'une main devoit laver l'autre, et que dans les conjonctures presentes de l'Europe il etoit plus necessaire que jamais d'oublier de petits objects pour penser a des interêts, devant les qu'ils tous les autres devoient se taire, c'est a dire au bien de l'etat.

Je vous prie en meme tems de remercier très cordialement de ma part le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, de la declarat qu'il a fait faire à la Cour de Russie. Je n'en suis instruit que depuis peu, je vous prie de lui temoigner toute l'etendue de ma reconnoissance, cette declarat a arrêté les dispositions dangereuses des Russes, et du moins elle m'a fait gagner cette année. Le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, et moi, sommes dans une grande crise, mais pourvû que nous travaillons chaqu'un de notre coté, il n'y a point de doute, que nous ne nous en tirions avec honneur, mais je vous reitere les prieres que je vous ai faites de l'avertir de prendre à tems des mesures, avec les Cours Protestantes d'Allemagne pour avoir des troupes, sur qoi, je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait, Monsieur, en sa sainte et digne garde.

FEDERIC.[6]

To this letter the following postscript was added in the King's own hand.

Vous verez par le billet si joint tout les mechans projets de mes enemis; vous verez l' indispensable nessesité ou je suis de les prevenir, et que pour denouér ce neeux Gordien il n'ya d'autre remede que de le couper avec l'epée.

[6] It was a fancy of Frederic to sign his name in this manner at this period, and, indeed, to the end of his life :—"Le Roi de Prusse a toujours signé *Féderic*, qui est plus doux à prononcer que *Fréderic*."—*Note* to the first letter from Frederic, then Prince Royal (8 Aug., 1736), at p. 13, tom. 52 of the *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Gotha, 1788. The last letter in the same collection from Frederic to Voltaire is dated 17th Dec., 1777; so that their correspondence extended over a period of upwards of 40 years; tom. 54, p. 305. The last letter, like the first, is signed "Fédéric."

The following letter is curious both for the anecdote of the minister of Mayence at Dettingen, and as appearing to show that Mitchell was the first example of an English ambassador accompanying an army in the field; that is, regularly and systematically, for the anecdote above referred to itself shows that Lord Granville was present at the battle of Dettingen, but "in his coach," and it is not clear that he was under fire, as Mitchell so often was when attending Frederic in the Seven Years' War.

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

Arlington Street, Sept. 8th, 1756.

Dear Sir,

I heartily wish you health and success in the new trade you are going to undertake; however, don't grow too much a soldier, and set a bad precedent for the rest of your black brethren of the ink bottle. Observation is our business, not fighting; I would, therefore, advise you at least to keep out of cannon shot. Remember, if you do get a knock of the pate, vous emporterez la peine, et l'on dira que diable y avoit il à faire, yet I would not advise you to follow the steps of the Minister of Mayence at Dettinghen, who, during the time of action, came up to my Lord Granville's coach, crying out, "Je proteste contre toute violence."

I can find no trace in the office books of any particular allowance made to foreign ministers for such sort of expeditions; but I am persuaded I shall adjust it easily with the Duke of Newcastle. Once more

adieu! Our constant toast here now is, success to the King of Prussia: he grows vastly popular amongst us; for my part, I always add a gulp more to my old friend Mitchell. De grace trouvez l'occasion de me mettre aux pieds de sa Majesté Prussienne, et temoignez toute ma sensibilité à l'honneur qu'il m'a fait de penser à moi dans le moment de son depart.

I ever am with the truest affection and regard,

Dear Mitchell,

Your most faithfull humble servant,

HOLDERNESSE.[7]

Au Roy de Prusse.[8]

De Berlin, ce 18me Septre., 1756.

SIRE,

Le Roi faché comme il est de la necessité qui a obligé votre Majesté de commencer sa marche vers la Boheme m'a ordonné d'asseurer votre Majesté de ses souhaits les plus cordials pour le succés de ses armes. J'ai aussi reiteré ses ordres au Chevalier Williams qu'il travaille à la Cour de Petersbourg avec toute l'adresse possible pour prevenir les mauvaises interpretations et

[7] Mitchell MSS.

[8] In regard to this and the few other French letters here published, it may, perhaps, be hardly necessary to say that any value which these letters may possess must be considered as quite independent of the purity of the French. One important point in this letter is its conveying to the King of Prussia the command of the King of Great Britain to Mitchell to beg that the King of Prussia will grant him (Mitchell) permission to attend him in his campaigns. George II., whatever may be thought of his talents in that line, was extremely fond of military affairs; and Mitchell's dispatches from the Prussian camp were a source not only of anxious interest, but of great amusement to him.

pour mettre cette demarche de votre Majestè dans son veritable jour.

Par une lettre particuliere que j'ai eu de Londres on me marque que la nation Angloise fait cause commune avec votre Majesté et qu'elle fait des voeux ardents pour sa conservation, et pour sa gloire. Permettez, Sire, que j'y joigne les miens.

J'ai marqué à Monsieur Williams tout ce qu'il lui faut pour justifier les mesures qu'a pris votre Majesté et il ne manquera pas j'espere d'en faire bon usage.

Mi Lord Stormont m'ecrit du 14me que lui et les autres ministres etrangers avoient ètè appellés par la Reine de Pologne quand votre Majesté a ordonner le saisir des papiers, &c., à Dresde et qu'elle les avoit prié d'en envoyer des relations à leurs cours respectives, et de la protestation qu'elle faisoit la dessus.

Comme ces relations seront dispersées par toute l'Europe, et relevées par les ennemis de votre Majesté, permettez, Sire, que je la prie de vouloir bien m'instruire de la manière dont je pourrai en parler à ma Cour.

Monsieur le Comte de Podewils m'ayant fait les communications dont votre Majesté a eu la bontè de m'honnorer, je ne manquerai pas d'en faire usage aupré de ma Cour, pour les induire à s'accommoder avec la Republique de la Hollande pour le bien de la cause commune.

J'ai deja ecrit au Ministère d'Hanovre touchant le Duc de Brunswic selon l'idee de votre Majesté dans sa lettre du 13me et j'espere qu'ils y auront toute l'attention possible.

Le courier qui arriva hier, m'apporte des lettres du 8^{me} mais point de nouvelles.

Le Roy m'a donné ordre de prier votre Majesté tres humblement de vouloir bien m'accorder la permission de la suivre en campagne, et il ne m'a jamais donné un ordre plus a mon gré ni plus flateur pour moi, et sur cela j'àttens le bon plaisir de votre Majesté.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The following postscript in the king's own hand contains the answer to the last paragraph of this letter.

The King of Prussia to Mr. Mitchell.

À Sedelitz, le 21e *de Septembre,* 1756.

P.S.—Vous n'avez qu'a venir moncher sur d'être bien reseu pourvoyez vous de bons cheveaux de monture et d'un petit equipage, c'est le moyein de l'avoir toujours, si vous princez beaucoup de carosses vous pourcez vous trouver souvent dans le cas de ne pas pouvoir les avoir avec vous quand vous vienderai ici je vous dirai tout plain de choses singuilleres.

FEDERIC.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Berlin, Sunday, 3rd October, 1756.

MY LORD,

This morning, about seven o'clock, Monsieur Oppen, an officer in the guards, arrived from the Prussian camp in thirty-nine hours. He had no letters from anybody, only a scrap of paper without date, (which he

was directed to deliver to the Queen mother), upon which was written with a pencil in the King's own hand, that his troops had beaten the Austrians *a platte couture*, that he reckoned his loss about two thousand, and that of the Austrians at four thousand men. The officer, after paying his duty to the Royal Family, and to the Ministers here, set out immediately for the camp, so I had no opportunity of seeing him.

The most material particulars I have been able to gather from those who saw him, are, that on the 30th September the King of Prussia's army moved from their camp at *Aussig*, that when they came to the ground they were to occupy that night they perceived some tents pitched which they took to be an advanced guard, or some small out-party of Austrians, but his Prussian Majesty had the precaution to make his army remain under arms all night, and early in the morning, on Friday, the 1st October, he observed some motions among the enemy which very soon shewed that the whole Austrian army were preparing to attack him. The King of Prussia made the proper dispositions according to his ground. On the right and left were little hills, which were occupied by his wings, and the main body was in the plain. About seven in the morning the Austrians attacked with great fury the left wing of the Prussians, and the action continued very hot till half an hour past one, when the Austrians gave way, but retired in very good order, and to cover their retreat, burnt the small town of *Lobositz*, in which they had a magazine. Whether they are returned to

their old camp at Budin behind the Egra, Monsieur Oppen did not know, as he was dispatched from the field of battle about four o'clock afternoon.

The number of the Austrians under Marechal Brown he reckons between sixty and seventy thousand, the Prussian army he computes from thirty-four to forty thousand only, by reason of several detachments left to guard the passes in the mountains and on the Elbe.

The King of Prussia was everywhere, but chiefly where the action was hottest, in the left wing. He had under him his Royal Highness the Prince of Prussia, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, and Marechal Keith; having left his brothers the Princes Henry and Ferdinand with many other general officers in his camp at *Sedelitz*.

Monsieur Oppen adds that Prince Lobcowitz, an Austrian General, was very much wounded and taken prisoner. He mentions several Prussian officers of distinction that fell in the action, the Generals *Luderitz*, *Oerts* and *Quadt*. I shall, I hope, soon be able to send your Lordship farther particulars, as another express is expected every hour, in the meantime allow me most heartily to give you joy of this great event which I hope will tend to restore peace to Europe.

Monday, 4th October.

I HAVE kept the courier in expectation of another express from the Prussian camp, but none is yet arrived; only the Prince of Prussia has sent one of his pages, who confirms every article I have mentioned, but he

brings nothing new or material, he having been sent off from the camp at three o'clock in the morning on the 2nd instant.

As I have still two messengers with me, I shall dispatch one of them so soon as I have any accounts that may be depended on, for I am persuaded the King of Prussia will follow out the blow he has given ; but I cannot help being anxious, considering the great superiority of numbers in the Austrian army.

I enclose to your Lordship a copy of a letter from Marechal Schwerin to Count Podewils, which gives an account of the late action at *Augest.* All we know of him since, is, that he was within half a mile of *Konigcratz,* and it is said that Prince Picoluomini occupies a strong camp near that place.

I have the honour, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Thursday, 21*st October,* 1756.

MY LORD,

Last Friday afternoon I received the King of Prussia's answer to my letter, and I set out early the next morning for the head quarters at Struppen, a village which lies between Pirna and Konigstein, where the King of Poland had his quarters a few days before. I found his Prussian Majesty in very high spirits. He told me all was now settled between him and the Saxons, that they were to enter into his service, and

that he was to sign and seal with them that afternoon. He desired me to stay the next day and see the Saxon troops, &c.

On Sunday the 17th, the Saxon troops, preceded by their general officers, crossed the Elbe at a place called Baden, where the Prussians had a bridge of boats; from thence they marched into a plain in the neighbourhood, and after passing between two battalions of Prussian guards, they were received by two battalions of the Prince of Prussia's regiments drawn up on the right and left. They there formed a hollow square, and had the articles of war read, and the military oath administered to them, in the presence of Prince Morice of Anhalt Dessau, or of Prince Ferdinand, the King of Prussia's brother. As there was but one bridge laid over the river, and the roads from the Saxon camp were extremely bad, and as every regiment was swore separately, this ceremony lasted all this and the next day. The soldiers were all armed, but the officers, almost to a man, have refused to enter into the Prussian service.

The whole Saxon army consisted of sixteen thousand, of which three thousand horse and dragoons. The soldiers are extremely well-looked, mostly young men; and they do not seem to have suffered for want of provisions during the blockade of five weeks. The cavalry have suffered more; many of their horses are ruined.

As the King of Prussia had full occupation with the Saxon affairs, I had no opportunity of speaking to him

upon business till late last night, when he delivered to me the enclosed for the King.

I am sorry I cannot send your Lordship a copy of the covenant and capitulation which his Prussian Majesty has made with the King of Poland, but the substance of them, as far as they have been communicated to me, is,

1st. That the King of Poland yields his whole army in Saxony to the King of Prussia, with this exception, that the officers shall not be compelled to serve against their will, it being always understood, that the King of Poland shall grant dismission from his service to such officers as shall ask it, who then shall be at liberty to enter into the Prussian service; and that such officers as do not chuse to ask their dismission, shall be prisoners incapable of serving during this war.

I am just now informed, that the King of Poland has given full powers to Count Rutowski to grant dismissions to such officers as shall apply for them; and it is thought that many of the Saxon officers will accept of service, as they have no other means of subsistence: but the difficulty is, who shall begin to break the combination which has been formed amongst the officers.

2nd. That the Garrison and Castle of Konigstein shall still remain in the hands of his Polish Majesty, he giving proper assurances that a perfect neutrality shall be observed on his part, and no protection afforded from thence to the King of Prussia's enemies, nor the free navigation of the Elbe any ways interrupted.

3rd. The King of Poland to be at liberty to go where he pleases ; and he has accordingly resolved to set out on this day for Warsaw.

The King of Prussia told me that whilst the above articles were negotiating, the King of Poland had signed a convention with the Empress Queen for five regiments (which he has in Poland) that are to enter into her service ; and when this was discovered he had offered to add a clause, declaring the convention not to be good, if the King of Prussia disapproved of it.

The camp of Pirna lies on a high ground, which is in circumference about fifteen English miles, and comprehends within it two small towns, and seventeen villages. It is bounded on one side by the Elbe,[1] at each end by the fortresses of Pirna and Konigstein ; and on the other side, the ground falls off in such a manner as to make the defence of it very easy. The Saxons had made the best use of their situation, and fortified this very steep bank with many redouts and breast works ; and in the places where they might have been attacked by cavalry, they had made, *abbatis de bois*, and dug

[1] Mitchell, a page or two afterwards, mentions that the banks of the Elbe are here very steep and rocky. Frederic, in his description of this famous camp, notices this important feature in regard to the Elbe:—"La nature s'était complue dans ce terrain bizarre à former une espèce de forteresse, à laquelle l'art n'avait que peu ou rien à ajouter. A l'orient de cette position coule l'Elbe entre des rochers, qui en rétrécissant son cours la rendent plus rapide, &c. . . . Ce camp, un des plus forts de l'Europe, ayant été examiné, et reconnu en detail, fut jugé à l'abri des surprises et des attaques ; et comme le temps et la disette pouvoient seuls vaincre tant d'obstacles, on resolut de le bloquer étroitement, pour empêcher que les troupes Saxonnes ne tirassent des vivres des environs, et d'en user en tout comme dans un siége en forme."—*Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans*, Ch. IV.

pits of three or four foot deep, having the brow of the hill defended with a numerous artillery placed at proper distances. All these works have been raised under the direction of Major General Dyrheim; and the Prussian officers say they are excellent in their way, and that he made the best of the ground. Some of them tell me that this encampment could not have been forced with less than the loss of ten or twelve thousand men.

The Prussian army that blockaded this camp consisted of about thirty thousand men; and, reckoning the circuit of the ground they occupied on both sides the Elbe, it must amount to thirty or thirty-five English miles.

The Saxons remained in the camp of Pirna till the night between the 12th and 13th, when their whole army passed the Elbe on a bridge of boats, under the cannon of Konigstein. Unhappily their bridge broke before the baggage was all got over, and the Prussian hussars have plundered a part of it. The Saxons then took possession of a new encampment, in a very narrow plain, shelving towards the river, which lies directly opposite to Konigstein, and is bounded on one side by the banks of the Elbe, which are very steep and rocky, and on the other by a very high rock called the *Lilienstein*, which again is surrounded with other high rocks and *ravines*, having at one end of it a deep wood, and at the other a road towards Waltersdorff, of difficult access at all times, but then rendered almost impracticable by the Prussians. In this unhappy situation, shut up on all sides, the Saxon army

continued from Wednesday to Friday, when they began to capitulate; but they marched out of their camp only on Sunday morning. Bread was sent to the soldiers as soon as the capitulation was agreed upon.

I have endeavoured to give your Lordship an idea of the ground of this Saxon encampment, as it appears wonderfull to us how the Saxons should have quitted their first strong camp at Pirna, to shut themselves up in a pound. If reports may be credited, it is said there was an express order from the King of Poland for it, that his generals were mostly of another opinion; but one circumstance adds greatly to the wonder. The Prussians say that the Saxons left in their first camp at Pirna, provisions sufficient to have maintained them for a fortnight or three weeks longer. In short, the generals lay the blame on the Cabinet, and the Cabinet say the generals should have forced their way at all events; which, however, I believe that no man that has seen the ground will think possible.

Marechal Brown came to Mettledorff, near Schandau, with about eight thousand men in order to have forced the passes that were defended by the Prussians under General *Leistwitz*, distant about one mile from the second Saxon encampment; but so soon as the Prussians had notice of his approach they reinforced the party under *Leistwitz*, and all their other detachments on the other side of the Elbe, so that Brown could do nothing; and, in his retreat, the Prussian hussars attacked his rear guard and cut to pieces two companies of grenadiers and upwards of one hundred and fifty hussars.

The King of Prussia had notice only on Wednesday afternoon of the Saxons having passed the Elbe, and the next day before four in the afternoon he joined his army in Saxony with sixteen squadrons from Bohemia.

Thus has ended this most important affair, which I compute at no less than the difference of fifty thousand men to the King of Prussia; for he will find it easy to augment the Saxon army to twenty-five thousand, and have funds to pay them from the revenue of the Electorate, all which, had he failed, would have been made use of against him and added to the strength of his enemies.

The King of Prussia sets out this day with part of his army for Bohemia, and I have reason to believe that his stay will be short in that country, as he does not intend to attempt winter quarters there; but I shall follow him after to-morrow. The army he leaves in Saxony will return to their old camp at Sedelitz.

Count Broglio, the French ambassador, has behaved with as much passion, absurdity, and impertinence, as was possible. If I was to be particular I should tire your Lordship with the length of my narration. I shall mention but one instance. He sent a challenge to the Margrave Charles for not suffering him to pass into Konigstein, after the King of Prussia was gone into Bohemia, and had left express orders to the contrary, and he remained two or three days in the village after he had been refused, threatening the Prussian soldiers with his master's resentment, and telling them that one

hundred thousand men were immediately to march to chastise them, and to revenge the affront offered to his person. His threats and behaviour have had no other effect than to procure him the thorough contempt of the King of Prussia, who has ordered complaint to be made to the Court of France of the insolence and absurdity of their ambassador.

I send your Lordship by this messenger copies of a *Memoire pour justifier la Conduite du Roi contre les fausses Imputations de la Cour de Saxe*, and of a *Memoire Raisonné sur la Conduite des Cours de Vienne et de Saxe, &c.*, which contains the Papers taken from the Saxon Archives.

I have the honour, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the King of Prussia.

De Sedelitz, ce 23 Octobre, 1756.

SIRE,

Je m'arrette ici afin de depecher un courier avec les billets pour Petersburg, et j'attenderai les ordres de votre Majesté si je dois suivre incessament votre Majesté en Boheme.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus parfaite veneration,

De votre Majesté,

Le tres humble et tres

Obeissant serviteur,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Sedelitz, 23 Octobre, 1756.

The answer to this is in the following words scrawled on the back of the letter in the King's hand :—

C'est trop tard car nous marchons pour prendre nos quartiers d'hiver.

Fr.

The following very curious long letter, written in the King's own hand, in which this most absolute of princes says, "Je vous parle en Citoyen de l'Europe, qui a fort à cœur le bien de ses alleiz et l'independence de sa patrie, que hait la tiranie de quelque coté qu' elle vienne," &c., &c., was sent in Mitchell's private letter of the 17th of November, 1756. Frederic talks against tyranny, and for "liberty, equality, and universal philanthropy," much as Robespierre might do. Thus do extremes meet.

Je suis tres fache moncher Monsieur Michel d'aprendre la division qui s'est mis dans votre gouvernement d'Angleterre, mon Dieu il me semble que dons le moment present tout home bien intentioné pour les interets de sa nation et pour ceux de l'Europe devroit quiter tout interet personal pour ne songer q'a un interet devons le quel tant les autres deveroient se taire qui est a celai du soutient de la cause protestante et cele de la liberté de l'Europe. J'avoue que je n'ai apris qu'avec la plus vive douleur la mesintelligence de votre gouvernement, se peut il que tans de gens qui cependant pensent bin pour l'interet de leur patrie veuillent donner gain de cause aux enemis eternels de leur gouvernement par des divisions

intestines. Coment le Roy D'Angleterre et la Nation pouront ils prendre des bonnes mesures * * *[2] de leurs enemis. Je trouve chéz la Nation meme des personnes qui quoi qu' * * *[1] français leur rendent les plus grands servises en empechant l'etat de prendre a tems des mesures contre les entreprises de nos enemis comuns, pourdieu que l'amour de la partie si reveille chéz vos consitioyens et que Lon envisage les objets en grand et non pas par le microscope da bien perssonel. Pour moy je ne pense dans le moment present qu'a L'Europe je n'ay visavis de moy que le duoumvirat dangereux aux libertez de l'Angleterre come a cellis de l'Allemagne surtout a la cause protestante. Je vois que l'hiver aproche et en meme tems ce moment de treve que l'intemperie de l'air met a la fureur des homes, je crois qu'on ne doit pas laissir echaper ce tems presieux pour prendre de tout cotez les mesures convenables sur terre et sur mer pour resister au puisans eforts que feront les maisons d'Autriche et de Bourbon contre nous, j'ai bien des choses a proposer que je suspends avans de voir que votre orage interieur a soit calme. Je suis pelletre come l'Abé de St. Pierre qui revoit pour le bonheur de l'Europe, mais je ne sai a qui proposer mes reves, ûst un prealable de voir le calme retabli a Londres et je pense que les honnetes gens y travaillerons, qu'on se dispute pour des avantages personels quand on a rine de mieux a faire a la bonheure, mais a present mon cher Monsieur Michel ou il sagit de savoir si bon conservera

[2] Not legible.

la liberté de disputer pour des charges, il me semble que tout les partis se doivent reunir contre l'enemy comun, qu'il faut etendue ses vues et laisser des disaction de miseres a des tems plus comodes et plus oeseux pourde pareills Debats; je vous parle en citoyen de l'Europe, qui a fort a couer le bin de ses alliez et l'independence de sa patrie qui hait la tiranie, de quelque cote quelle viene et qui ne veut que le bine de l'Europe, je souhaiterois que tout vos compatriotes fusent ausi sencez que vous et quils fusent ausi bons citoyenns, et nous viendrions ensemble a bout de toute les conspirations que des esprits ambitieux pouroient former contre la tranquilite de l'Europe. Adieu mon cher Monsieur.

FR.[3]

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Sedelitz, 4th November, 1756.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have long been convinced that I am not in possession of a *sine cure*, but how your Lordship can imagine that it is possible to tell you more than I know, is to me amazing. In my letter of the 3rd and 4th October, I said every thing I knew, and every thing I heard that I thought intelligible or consistent with truth. As to my Secretary, he does his best, and he is almost killed with fatigue; when the King enables me I will have one additional. Sir Charles Williams'

[3] This letter is indorsed:—
"*Dresden, 10th November,* 1756,
"THE KING OF PRUSSIA, Propria Manu."
Sent in Mr. Mitchell's private Letter, P.M. of the 17*th November,* 1756.

anxiety gives me much trouble. I wish to God Major was arrived.

The King of Prussia has read the papers you transmitted. He thinks we are in the wrong, and it was not in my power to convince him. He says what we call a *capital point* in naval stores, is no point at all, compared with the importance of throwing Holland into the arms of France ; and besides that, the treaties are clear upon that point.

I am here in a very awkward situation, quite out of my element ; and though I have great reason to be satisfied with the King of Prussia's manner of treating me, I wish I was at Berlin again, or rather in England, notwithstanding the absurd speeches that I should hear in Parliament.

The Prussian camp is no place of pleasure, neither convenience nor luxury dwell here ; you are well provided with every thing, if you bring it along with you. I find I must increase my equipage or starve. All my family are like spectres. It is true I am fed at the King's table, because he desired me to leave my equipage at Dresden. The Duke of Newcastle has this encouraging paragraph in his letter. "I will forward your demands for the expenses of your journey, whenever you send them over in a proper manner to my Lord Holdernesse." I have wrote him my mind with freedom, and expect proper hints from your Lordship what I am to do, for it is impossible to go on at this rate. I have spent a great deal of money, and have hardly the necessaries of life, and none of the comforts.

Pray let me know if my long letter of the 21st October was intelligible ; it cost me much labour ; I was twelve hours on horseback in one day. I understand nothing by description ; I must see it, and therefore I fear what I write is not intelligible.

I ever am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, 20th Nov., 1756.

MY DEAR LORD,

Uncertain whether I write to your Lordship a private man or a Secretary of State, accept of my most hearty thanks for your goodness to me ; and for the many favours you have heaped on me ; I have but one more to ask, which is the continuance of that friendship, and my heart tells me I have a title to it.

I have followed the hints you gave me in your *private* letter by Lamb, and I think they have in a great measure obviated the false impressions, which our unhappy divisions at home would have made upon the King of Prussia's mind. He now sees things in their true light, and it was a great pleasure to me to observe the affectionate concern he showed for the vexation and uneasiness of mind that this must occasion to the King. He trusts to the good sense of the nation, that they will see their interest, and return to their duty ; in that persuasion he is now hard at work, preparing not only a plan for the next campaigne, but a project for an alliance with England, Holland, and Russia, which will

be able to stand against the united efforts of the houses of Austria and Bourbon.

The accounts we have lately had of the Empress of Russia's health, gave rise to this scheme, and at the same time gave great satisfaction here, for if Russia was but out of the field, the King of Prussia thinks he should have nothing to fear, and he would then be in a condition to assist his Majesty with troops for the defence of their dominions in Germany. I need not repeat what I have so often said, the King of Prussia's disposition towards the King and towards England is as favourable as can be wished. He is angry with France, and wishes never to have more to do with her. I hope proper attention will be had to the project he intends to communicate. Colonel Lentulus repeated to him some conversations he had had in England, which made him resolve to write his thoughts freely, and to communicate them; he likes plain dealing,[4] and will expect a plain answer, which he will be glad to receive from your Lordship, as he has a real regard for you.

The inclosed letter, for his Royal Highness the Duke, I received t'other day from Marechal Keith. Pray send a courier soon; and believe me, whether you are at Zion-hill or at the Cockpit, equally your most affectionate and devoted servant,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

[4] Provided the plain dealing was all on one side, and that side not his; Mr. Mitchell found this out before he had done with him.

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

London, Nov. 26th, 1756.

Dear Sir,

The short hints I have thrown out to you from time to time, as well as the unusual cessation of my publick letters, must have let you *partly* understand the confusion that reigned here for some time past. Things begin to take a shape ; how long it may last I cannot judge, but happen what may, I think your affairs at Berlin will certainly go right.

Mr. Pitt has been laid up with a severe fit of the gout ever since his nomination to the office, which has greatly retarded business. I think his opinions upon foreign affairs *now he is in place* are exactly the same with mine, however different they were some time ago ; *tempora mutantur et nos, &c.* I hope you will never find that maxim applicable to your old friend in Arlington-street. I knew long ago of some *private letters* wrote to you by the Duke of Newcastle ; you were in the right not to discover a secret intrusted to you, but though (for reasons you know) I bore this from *him*, such matters must cease for the future with *others*. I therefore insist that I may know directly if any other person in the administration offers to correspond with you. While I remain in business I will do the duty of my office *myself*, and without submitting to those disagreeable interruptions I have met with from others ; nor will I henceforward be led by persons of my own

age and less experience. In short, dear Mitchel, if I stay in I must now have my share of the cake, and if you hear I continue, depend upon it I have succeeded in what I think just and reasonable pretensions. A volume would not explain to you the transactions of these last six weeks. We have five administrations in one day and none existing at night. The Duke of Newcastle is great in his retreat, and does himself great honour by the manner in which he bears what his enemies only call a disgrace.

The Parliament will produce a motley scene next week ; you are happy to be out of the scrape.

Ever most truly your's,

HOLDERNESSE.

CHAPTER VIII.

DISPATCHES AND CORRESPONDENCE—CAMPAIGN OF 1757—BATTLES OF PRAGUE, KOLIN, ROSBACH, AND LEUTHEN.

1757.

This campaign of 1757, as conducted by Frederic, has been considered one of the most wonderful efforts, if not the most wonderful effort, of military genius upon record. It would be sufficient of itself to place the name of Frederic almost, if not altogether, alone among *born* kings. There is no evidence that the man most remarkable among the born kings both of ancient and modern times, Alexander the Great, ever performed so much in the face of such obstacles in any one year as Frederic did in the campaign of 1757.

The writer of the article before quoted in the "Edinburgh Review," No. 151, thus speaks of what Frederic accomplished in this campaign in 1757, at the same time taking occasion to notice some of the strange points of contrast in his character. "It is amusing to compare what he did during the last months of 1757, with what he wrote during the same time. It may be doubted whether any equal portion of the life of Hannibal, of

Cæsar, or of Napoleon will bear a comparison with that short period, the most brilliant in the history of Prussia and of Frederic. Yet at this very time the scanty leisure of the illustrious warrior was employed in producing odes and epistles, a little better than Cibber's, and a little worse than Hayley's. Here and there a manly sentiment, which deserves to be in prose, makes its appearance, in company with Prometheus and Orpheus, Elysium and Acheron, the plaintive Philomel, the poppies of Morpheus, and all the other frippery, which, like a robe tossed by a proud beauty to her waiting-woman, has long been contemptuously abandoned by genius to mediocrity. We hardly know any instance of the strength and weakness of human nature so striking and so grotesque, as the character of this haughty, vigilant, resolute, sagacious blue-stocking, half Mithridates and half Trissotin, bearing up against a world in arms, with an ounce of poison in one pocket and a quire of bad verses in the other."

The following very characteristic letter, in which his Majesty spells Cæsar and Cato in a manner certainly to which they have not been accustomed, writing them "Cesart" and "Catton," is endorsed "1757."

J'ai apris moncher Monsieur tout le detail de la malheureuse journée de Hamlen, cella justifie assez les propositions que je vous ai faites a Leutoneritz; les Anglais ne veullent soutenir ni leurs affaires de mer ni la guerre de terre ferme; je me trouve come le dernier

champion de la ligue pret a combattre sil le faloit meme sur les ruinnes de ma patrie ; il vous faudera encore quelque peu de passience pour voir le resultat de ce qui doit ariver ici. Ce n'est pas moy certenement qui arrete les affaires, mais il ya des difficultéz a vaincres dont on ne peut venir a bout qu'avec un pue de passience. Je suis dans le cas de dire, la fortune est pour Cesart, mais Catton suit Pompée ; pour apresent il me faut la fortune de Cesart, et malgré cela tout les obstacles ne seront ils pas levéz encore. J'espere de vous ecrire dans peu en termes moins vagues et des nouvelles plus pressises et plus decisives. Je vous souhaite en atendent toute sorte de contentement a Dresden. Adieu.

FEDERIC.[5]

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Brunswick, 8th February, 1757.

MY LORD,

In my letter from Hanover of the 2nd, I acquainted your Lordship that I had dispatched Dick, the messenger, to Dresden, as I thought it necessary before he proceeded to Petersbourg to communicate the substance of your Lordship's dispatch of the 25th January, and to apprise his Prussian Majesty of the resolution the King had taken to recal Sir Charles Williams.

Yesterday Dick brought me an answer from the

[5] Indorsed, 1757 :—
"THE KING OF PRUSSIA, propria manu."

King of Prussia, who was then just returned from Silesia, and I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that he highly approves of the step the King has taken with regard to Denmark, which, if successfull, will change the state of affairs, and, in many respects. be of great utility to the common cause. His Prussian Majesty has been pleased to give orders for his minister at Copenhagen to be assisting to Mr. Titley in everything that can facilitate this negotiation.

With regard to the recall of Sir Charles Williams from Petersbourg, I am desired by his Prussian Majesty to represent to your Lordship what he apprehends will be the necessary and fatal consequences of recalling the King's Ambassador from the Court of Russia at this time, and of leaving that important post vacant even for a small interval.

Your Lordship is informed that for some months past Sir Charles Williams has been much trusted by the King of Prussia in affairs of a very delicate nature. I beg leave to refer to my former letters, and particularly to that of the 8th of January, which your Lordship could not have received when the resolution was formed, and I must do Sir Charles Williams the justice to say, his negotiations at the Court of Petersbourg have been of real service to his Prussian Majesty, and that his correspondence with me has been very punctual and instructive ever since I went into Saxony, and that he is as cordial and as well intentioned as any man can be.

The degree of favour and confidence Sir Charles is

happily in with the Great Duke and Dutchess, and the utility that this may be of in certain events, are too well known to your Lordship to need to be expatiated upon.

I must, however, put your Lordship in mind how fickle the Court of Russia have been, and how changeable their resolutions are. Your Lordship will remember that within these few months Sir Charles Williams has been upon the point of succeeding in his negotiation which was defeated by a remittance of money from Vienna, and that the late fiery declarations of the Czarina are the effect of passion and resentment, grounded upon false facts and suggestions made by Count Bruhl and his associates to mislead that weak and corrupted court, which is not even now in a condition to fulfil what it has promised without being supplied with larger sums of money than the Court of Vienna can afford; nor can I persuade myself that France will pay for the march and subsistence of a Russian army to serve purposes purely Austrian. In this situation, my Lord, give me leave to say, that moments may, nay, will occur, when the presence and address of the King's Ambassador may be greatly for his Majesty's service, either to bring back Russia to the old alliance with England, or at least to hinder their activity against the King's best ally.

Besides these considerations, his Prussian Majesty thinks that the want of an ambassador at Petersbourg will be attended with the worst of consequences to the

common cause, as it will give a determined superiority to the Austrian and French parties, and cannot fail of being represented by the enemies of England as an actual abandoning of all alliance and connexion with Russia.

It will likewise be particularly prejudicial to the King of Prussia, as he will thereby be deprived of the best source of intelligence, at a time and in circumstances, when it imports him the most to have sure and continual informations from that country.

The Great Duke and Dutchess are equally well disposed to the King and his Prussian Majesty. It is, therefore, humbly submitted to your Lordship, whether the recalling of Sir Charles Williams at this time may not be very prejudicial to their affairs, as they will thereby be deprived of all advice and assistance from a person in whom they have great confidence, and in a conjuncture, the most dangerous and critical that can be imagined, nor is it possible to remedy this by sending any other person to succeed Sir Charles Williams, whose knowledge and connexions with the ministers of that court cannot easily be transferred, far less can his intimacy and friendship with the successor to the crown be devolved upon any new minister of what character soever.

As I am desired by the King of Prussia to make the strongest representations to your Lordship to have Sir Charles Williams still continued at the Court of Russia, I thought it my duty, and for his Majesty's service, to return the letters of *Rappel* to your Lordship

by the same messenger that brought them, which I have the more readily complied with, because it will be the delay of a few weeks only, in case his Majesty should still think proper to adhere to the resolution of recalling his ambassador.

I have the honour, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

Brunswic, 12*th February,* 1757.

MY LORD,

I am honoured with your Grace's of the 25th by Dick, and I confess I was in some uneasiness for not hearing from you sooner, which, however, your Grace has sufficiently explained to me. I am at this moment unacquainted with the circumstances that preceded and occasioned your Grace's resignation, though I think the knowledge of them might be of use. The sincere affection I have for your Grace obliges me to tell you, that I think you are mistaken in your conjecture upon the Prussian minister's conduct; your Grace imputes his *betise* to orders from his master, which I know him incapable of giving, as I am well acquainted with the manner of thinking of your Grace, and I can with truth assure your Grace that he is your friend.

As to the language of some papers that have been transmitted, coinciding with the cry of the opposition, it is merely accidental, and these papers were writ

with an intention of serving, not of hurting your Grace. It is not surprising that the most absolute and the most active monarch upon the face of the globe should have no idea of the wavering slowness of all popular deliberations.

I have, as your Grace directed, made your compliments to your friends at Hanover ; I wish they would follow your Grace's advice ; they have acted with great duplicity, and will, I fear, hurt the King's affairs, if not properly chequed. The Duke of Brunswic has been shamefully used by them, but he is so good a man they cannot disgust him, and all will come right here. He commands me to make his most sincere compliments to your Grace, as does her Royal Highness, and I beg leave most respectfully to offer mine to the Duchess of Newcastle.

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Secretary Pitt.

Dresden, Saturday, 12*th March,* 1757.

Sir,

Since my return from Brunswick the King of Prussia told me that he had had such accounts of your behaviour in the House of Commons, that he thought himself much obliged to you, and he desired me to acquaint you with it, and, in his name, to return you thanks for the excellent speech you made on the 18th of February, which I do most sincerely, and with the greatest pleasure.

I have the satisfaction at the same time to inform

you that the King of Prussia has the greatest confidence in his Majesty, and in his ministers, and he considers the late resolutions of Parliament as the strongest assurances that can be given of the favourable and friendly dispositions of the British nation towards him ; nor can it be doubted, that his Prussian Majesty's actions will confirm every declaration he has made, and entitle him, more and more, to the King's friendship and confidence, and to the affection of a free and generous people.

Allow me, sir, as a private man, and an old friend, most sincerely to congratulate you in the high office to which his Majesty has been pleased to call you, which, as I know you will fill with ability, dignity, and probity, I heartily wish you may long enjoy.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, 7th April, 1757.

MY DEAR LORD,

We go from worse to worse; your Lordship will have received my letter of the 31st with the *precis* of that school-masterly performance to persuade the King of Prussia that the neutrality for Hanover, &c., is really for his interest, though he does not see it in that light. Here we are absurd enough to consider this memorable letter as a secret declaration of Hanover against England ; but, to do his Prussian Majesty justice, he

has never once had the least suspicion of England nor of English ministers.

I must not conceal from your Lordship that, notwithstanding the King's goodness to me, I am unhappy in my situation; I cannot support it much longer; the vexation and anxiety of mind I have suffered these five months passed is not to be described. I was born an enemy to falsehood, deceit, and double dealing, and have ever had an equal contempt and abhorrence of those that practize either. I am lucky, indeed, in one circumstance, of being absolutely uninformed of what passes in a certain quarter, except in as far as his Prussian Majesty thinks fit to communicate the reports that are made to him. May this happy ignorance last for ever; I comfort myself with saying, "My soul, enter not into their secrets."

I will acquaint your Lordship with one particular which I thought too strong to mention in the account I give of what the King of Prussia said to me last Monday. When his Majesty talked of assisting, &c., the Landgrave of Hesse, he added, "Him I will assist and support, but as for these fellows of * * * *, I will neither now, nor hereafter have anything to do with them." Here I interposed, saying it was hard the master should suffer for the blunders of his servants. Such conversations are as unpleasant to me to relate as they will be to your Lordship to read, but I know they are safe in your hands.

I see by Sir Charles Williams' letter to your Lordship that he wants to leave his station, but not to be

recalled. I hope this scheme of his will be prevented; many things may happen where his presence will be absolutely necessary.

P.S.—By the accounts the King of Prussia has from Denmark, Baron Wedel, however he may have promoted the *neutrality scheme*, has not been useful in the great negotiation with that Court.

Of the numerous letters from the Duke of Cumberland to Mitchell we give the first and last. The first is here given: the last will be found a little further on in the order of its date, September 30th, 1757.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to Mr. Mitchell.

Mr. Mitchell, *Hanover, April 17th*, 1757.

I begin our correspondance by this courier of Count *Schmettau's*[6] to inform you of my arrival, and to desire that you would keep up a regular correspondance with me, during the time of my stay here, or at the army. You shall be informed, from time

[6] The words printed in italics, in this letter, are underlined in the original. The spelling and punctuation are, also, in the printed copy, exactly as in the original. This Duke of Cumberland's MS., with its calligraphy (and, as I have said before, his hand is a model of a gentleman's—bold, free, and very legible), its well-regulated spelling and punctuation, and the King of Prussia's almost illegible, small scrawl (though in it one sees the relics of what might once have been a small neat hand), with an utter defiance of all rules of spelling and punctuation, tell quite a history, each in its way; the one marking the painstaking and methodical, but commonplace man; the other the man of genius, painstaking and methodical too (for he knew full well that nothing great could be accomplished without labour and method or order), but at the same time original and eccentric.

to time, of our different *manœuvres* and dispositions; and I flatter myself, that by the opportunity you have of being so well informed, you will also let me know how things go on your side. I shall not give you any account of my present measures, because of the uncertainty of them, as yet. But, I don't doubt but that Count *Schmettau* will inform his Prussian Majesty of everything that has passed here during the few hours since my arrival. I have assured him, as I do you, that it is both the King's orders, as well as my own inclinations, to act with the corps under my command agreeably to his Prussian Majesty's inclinations, and the assurances that Count *Schmettau* has given me that if I can weather the storm for *five* or *six* weeks, his Prussian Majesty will take sufficient measures for my relief. As he has never failed yet in his undertakings because of the judicious preparations and measures he has taken, I doubt not but he will succeed still, notwithstanding the difficulties he has to struggle with.

I cannot as yet pretend to give any account of the state and preparations for the campaign in this part of the world. But, I flater myself, as far as I can see, as yet, that things are not quite so bad as they have been represented: but the appearance of distress has been occasioned more by their ignorance in the great undertaking they are now engaged in, than by want of good will; and I am in hopes that we shall still find resources to help us through the beginning of the campaign. You will observe that I engage myself for nothing, as I am still so uninformed. But, if pains and

application can beget information I will get at the bottom, and try to remedy, not find faults. I cannot yet fix our regular correspondance. But, the King's intention, when I went from England, was, to have a weekly messenger to go from *London* through here to you ; and one in return from you to call here.

I must conclude with what I ought to have begun with, which is to desire you to assure the King of *Prussia*, that nothing can be more my wish than being of the least use to him at the same time that I am serving the King my father ; and, that I shall esteem it as great glory to me, if my conduct this campaign can procure me his aprobation, as every one must allow him to be the compleatest master, and therefore the best judge of the profession.

I remain, your very affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

P.S. In my hurry, I had near forgot to acquaint you with the troublesome situation Prince *Frederic's* command in this army puts me in. I need only mention it ; for, I am sure you must see it. W.

Mr. Mitchell to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

Dresden, Tuesday, 19*th April,* 1757.

SIR,

Since I had the honour of writing to your Royal Highness by the messenger dispatched last Friday, I have seen his Prussian Majesty twice ; but it was

only yesterday that he opened himself to me for the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign, of which I shall endeavour to give your Royal Highness an account, after premising some things necessary to be known, as your Royal Highness may not have seen my latest letter to the Earl of Holdernesse.

On the 9th March the Prince of Bevern marched with a detachment from Zittau to Friedland in Bohemia, where he took a few prisoners and a small magazin. He met with little or no resistance, and returned to his post at Zittau.

The Prince of Prussia, the Margrave Charles and Marechal Keith, made an incursion with about 6m men by Neustadt, near the frontier of Lusatia, to Hanspach in Bohemia; they saw only some Austrian dragoons and hussars, who, as they were much inferior in number to the Prussians, retired to the nearest posts of Rumburg and Sulkenau. This happened the 6th April.

Prince Moritz of Dessau marched on the 12th or 13th April, from Zwickau with a detachment, and advanced, it is said, within half a German[7] mile of Egra, the enemy's dragoons and hussars retiring before him, and I am informed he returned to his post at Zwickau some days ago.

Last Saturday Prince Henry of Prussia led out two regiments of infantry from Dresden, and was joined with other troops near the frontier of Bohemia, and it is said that he is now gone towards Hanspach,

[7] A German mile is equal to about five English miles.

but he is expected back this day or to-morrow to join the army.

All these, Sir, were but feints to alarm, to amuse, and if possible, deceive the enemy, who, by the accounts from Bohemia, are still quiet in their quarters; and if those false attacks have so far succeeded, as to cover the King of Prussia's real intention, I may venture to say that his Prussian Majesty is upon the point of executing one of the boldest and one of the greatest designs that ever was attempted by man.

Yesterday the King of Prussia told me that Marechal Schwerin with his army had entered Bohemia, and was to be joined by the troops under the Prince of Bevern from Zittau to act on the other side of the Elbe. He said likewise that on Wednesday he will leave Lockwitz, and on Thursday, the 21st, the whole army will march, and it is to be joined in Bohemia by the corps under Prince Moritz of Dessau. He did not name the place of junction, but I conjecture it will be towards Leitmeritz, as the navigation of the Elbe is most essential, and must be preserved. For the same reason part of the army will pass through Hellensdorf, Lenai, Aussig, &c., into Bohemia.

Marechal Schwerin's army, when joined by the Prince of Bevern, will, I am informed, be fifty-four thousand men strong, and the army commanded by the King of Prussia after the junction with the corps under Prince Moritz does not amount to less than fifty-eight thousand.

The King of Prussia said the greatest difficulty he had found in bringing this project to bear was the

securing of dry forage for the cavalry and provisions for his men, which, however, he had now accomplished without trusting to what might be found in the enemy's magazines. He added, one other thing had given him great trouble, which was, to conceal his real design from his own officers. In this too he had succeeded, for I really believe that yesterday morning there were but two persons in the whole army besides himself that were then acquainted with his plan; and the secret has been so well kept that till this day the officers knew nothing of his intention to leave Lokowitz, but talked that in a few days, perhaps, if the weather was fine, the army would encamp.

If his Prussian Majesty succeeds in the execution of this noble project, he will soon be in a condition to succour the army of your Royal Highness, and to help to protect the Landgrave of Hesse, which he has much at heart; and I have the satisfaction to assure your Royal Highness, that the King of Prussia continues in the best disposition towards his Majesty and towards your Royal Highness, though he complains bitterly, and perhaps with too much reason, of the late transactions at Hanover, and of the cold indifference and slowness with which things there have been conducted, but he is persuaded your Royal Highness can and will restore everything.

Allow me, Sir, to recommend to your Royal Highness Lieutenant-General Schmettau, an officer of great experience, whom the King of Prussia sent many months ago to assist the King's ministers at Hanover. How

far they have followed his councils he can best inform your Royal Highness.

As I am to attend his Prussian Majesty in the field, I shall not have the honour of writing to your Royal Highness again till something happens in Bohemia of which I shall not fail to give your Royal Highness the earliest notice.

Your Royal Highness will pardon the liberty I have taken of writing at such length, as I think it my duty and for his Majesty's service that your Royal Highness should be fully acquainted with everything that has come to my knowledge concerning this most important affair.

I have the honour, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S. When your Royal Highness sends messengers this way, it will be proper to order them to take passports and directions from the Commandant at Dresden for the more security of their route.

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, 19th April, 1757.

MY DEAR LORD,

In a very few days the fate of Europe will be decided ; I wish before that happens assurances may be given of sending a fleet into the Baltic ; such assurances will come with a bad grace after the King of Prussia has gained a victory, which I am convinced he will, but, if the contrary should happen, this fleet

will become still more necessary, and therefore cannot be refused.

I will now give your Lordship some account of my family, which is much more numerous than I either wish for or can afford.

I march after to-morrow with twenty-six horses and twenty servants, not one of which is for show or parade, I have avoided every thing of the sort; my clothing is far from being expensive, it is barely decent; my table is plain, hospitable, and frugal; my wines are good, but used with great moderation—drinking is not the vice of the Prussians; *pour mes menus plaisirs*, your Lordship allows me no time to have any; notwithstanding all this, I find my appointments fall far short of my expense, which, I dare say, if the King knew, he would remedy. I am, most affectionately,

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.[8]

Prussian Camp at Karwatetz,
Friday, 29th April, 1757.

Sir,

I had the honour of your Royal Highness's letter of the 17th, the day before I left Dresden, and I took the earliest opportunity of acquainting his Prussian Majesty with the contents of it, which were very agreeable to him. I insinuated at the same time what your Royal Highness suggested about Prince

[8] These letters to the Duke of Cumberland are addressed, "His Royal Highness the Duke."

Frederick of Hesse, and I have the satisfaction to assure your Royal Highness that I found the King of Prussia in the best disposition to oblige the King and your Royal Highness in that affair.

Last Tuesday in the afternoon I was honoured with two letters of the 23d from your Royal Highness by Cleverly. I shall endeavour to make the best use of the hints your Royal Highness has been pleased to give me.

Lieutenant-General Schmettau has not yet arrived, but he forwarded your Royal Highness's letter to the King of Prussia, and I was greatly surprised to have it sent to me this morning. The secretary told me the King of Prussia would not open it because of an informality in the address. I immediately waited upon his Prussian Majesty, and showed him the precedents, which Mr. Mason had transmitted to me. He observed there was this difference, that the Prince of Prussia was presumptive heir to the crown, but said if things were equal on both sides he had no objection. He then asked if I would engage, in case there was any mistake in the form, to have it rectified, to which I agreed, and he received the letter immediately, and, after reading it, said he would answer it in a very few days, perhaps from Prague.

I have stated these particulars to your Royal Highness, as I am very anxious to know if your Royal Highness approves of what I have done.

I take the liberty to send your Royal Highness a copy of my journal: and I shall continue the same method

if your Royal Highness approves of it. Also, I inclose a copy of the relation of the Duke of Bevern's engagement with Lieutenant-General Konigseck, which I received from the King of Prussia, and I have put my letter to the Earl of Holdernesse under a flying seal, which, if your Royal Highness thinks proper, may be communicated to Colonel Yorke, as I have not time to write to him, and the early notice of what has happened may be of use in Holland.

I have the honour, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

London, May 6th, 1757.

DEAR MITCHEL,

I write you these few lines with a tired pen and an aching head, only to thank you for your last private letter and to keep up this sort of correspondence.

I hope in God I shall soon be able to send you an account of a solid, lasting and able administration ; till that is settled everything must be at a stand here. I think, however, difficulties begin to subside ; as to foreign affairs, they turn entirely on good news from Bohemia : I think myself so sure of receiving it, that I already have taken measures to inform the town of it par la bouche du canon. Adieu, dear Mitchel, Je n'en puis plus.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Convent of St. Margaret, in the camp before Prague, Friday, the 6th May, 1757.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that this day, a little before 10 o'clock in the morning, a general engagement began between the Prussian and Austrian armies, which lasted till half an hour past two in the afternoon.[9] The fire of the artillery and small arms was dreadful, but I can yet give no account of particulars on either side. All we know is, that the left of the Prussians commanded by the King attacked the right of the Austrians, and after a very obstinate resistance drove them from the field of battle. The

[9] The following graphic account of this battle, and of the death of Marshal Schwerin, is given in the article on Frederic II. in the Edinburgh Review (No. 151) :—"Early in 1757 the Prussian army in Saxony began to move. Through four defiles in the mountains they came pouring into Bohemia. Prague was his first mark; but the ulterior object was probably Vienna. At Prague lay Marshal Brown with one great army. Daun, the most cautious and fortunate of the Austrian captains, was advancing with another. Frederic determined to overwhelm Brown before Daun should arrive. On the 6th of May was fought, under those walls which, a hundred and thirty years before, had witnessed the victory of the Catholic league and the flight of the unhappy Palatine, a battle more bloody than any which Europe saw during the long interval between Malplaquet and Eylau. The King and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick were distinguished on that day by their valour and exertions. But the chief glory was with Schwerin. When the Prussian infantry wavered, the stout old marshal snatched the colours from an ensign, and, waving them in the air, led back his regiment to the charge. Thus, at seventy-two years of age, he fell in the thickest battle, still grasping the standard which bears the black eagle on the field argent. The victory remained with the King. But it had been dearly purchased. Whole columns of his bravest warriors had fallen. He admitted that he had lost eighteen thousand men. Of the enemy twenty-four thousand had been killed, wounded, or taken."

Prussian hussars and cavalry are now in full pursuit of them, and the right wing of the Austrians are retiring towards the Zasawa.

The right of the Prussians attacked the left of the Austrians, and have likewise defeated them, and drove them towards the Moldau. A great part of their infantry have thrown themselves into Prague.

The place where this action happened is on the high grounds on the other side of Prague. The distance cannot be considerable, as I saw the different corps march, and heard distinctly the fire of the small arms. The King of Prussia's army, after the junction with Marechal Schwerin, might be 70 or 80m men, and that of the Austrians upwards of a 100m, the deserters say 150m.

Monday last the King of Prussia's army encamped within cannon-shot of Prague, having met with no resistance; and on Wednesday the King, having notice that Marechal Schwerin's army had passed the Elbe, marched in the afternoon with 20 batailons and 36 or 38 squadrons, and threw a bridge over the Moldau at *Seltz* about half a mile below Prague. This bridge could not be finished till Thursday about one o'clock, when the King passed, but did not join Marechal Schwerin's army till Friday morning.

Marechal Keith had the command of the army on this side the Moldau. An officer that was in the action told me that the Austrians were well posted. but that they were drove from post to post, and

particularly that the strong post of Ziscaberg occupied by the Austrians had cost very dear.

I can say nothing of the loss on either side, which must be considerable, but the whole Prussian army are now in tears for the loss of Marechal Schwerin, one of the greatest officers this or perhaps any country has produced, and one of the best of men.

The King of Prussia is well, but greatly afflicted for the loss of Marechal Schwerin. Prince Henry, the King's brother, was in the action and unhurt; the other princes were in the army on this side the Moldau.

I hope soon to send your Lordship a full and clear relation of this glorious victory, and I forward this in the mean time by Samuel Dony, one of my servants, as I have but one messenger with me, who probably must be dispatched to Petersbourg.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Camp of Beleslavin before Prague,
18th May, 1757.

MY DEAR LORD,

I return your Lordship my most hearty thanks for your private letter in your own hand by Goodall; what I have wrote in cypher is meant rather for the use of others than of your Lordship, as I really believe you and your neighbour are the only men that think seriously of foreign affairs; there is, however, a fine

opportunity at present of strengthening our alliance. Pray press the affair of the Baltic squadron; let us seem at least to do something to assist our ally, and not leave him quite to himself. What confidence can a man of sense have in a nation so absurd and so fickle? Believe me, my Lord, if faction makes but a few strides farther, we shall become not only insignificant, but contemptible. What a glorious figure might England make if her strength was guided, not by prattlers, but headed by such a hero as I have the honour to attend.

I have now passed the most active month in my whole life, filled with so many and so important events that it appears to me a whole year; the fatigue is incredible, and I had almost sunk under it, but the anxiety of mind I had during the battle is not to be described; I knew the consequences, and there were some moments very doubtfull. The King would not suffer me to attend him, nor since to stay in his camp on the other side the Moldau.

I pay my duty to his Majesty often at his quarter, and am always kindly and well received. I live here in the society of the Prince of Prussia, his brother Prince Ferdinand, M. Keith, and other officers of distinction. I go to bed about the time your Lordship drinks coffee after dinner, and am up at the hour your Lordship is undressing to go to sleep, but in every situation I am most affectionately, &c.

A. M.

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

May 20th, 1757.

Dear Mitchel,

A fishing boat dispatched by Colonel Yorke brought us last night the news of the great and glorious victory obtained by the King of Prussia near Prague on the 6th inst., which fortunate event has filled the Court and the whole nation with the highest joy, and raised the admiration we already had of his Prussian Majesty's heroism to the highest pitch; women and children are singing his praises; the most frantick marks of joy appear in the publick streets. He is, in short, become the idol of the people; it only remains that we make a proper use of these advantages, and neither suffer ourselves to be elated beyond bounds, or to loose precious moments. Three mails are still due from Holland, so that we have no detail from the other side of the water. I am sure you will lose no time in sending us the King of Prussia's thoughts how to turn the present happy moment to the best advantage. Our administration is not yet settled, but that need not deterr his Prussian Majesty from letting us know his thoughts in regard to his interests; measures must be the same, let who will be minister.

Adieu, dear Mitchel; if you find a proper moment, lay me at the King of Prussia's feet, and assure him that his own subjects cannot feel more joy than I do at this increase of his glory.

Ever yours,

Holdernesse.

Camp of Belleslavin, Monday, the 20th June, 1757, 4 o'clock, morning.

My Lord,

Upon notice received that the army of Marechal Daun was daily increasing, and that it was actually 45m strong, (the Austrians said 65m), and that it was advancing towards *Kuttenberg* and *Czaslau* with an intention *de tourner l'armée du Prince de Bevern*, that is, to get between him and the King's army, which lay before Prague on the other side of the Moldau, the King of Prussia set out last Monday, the 13th, in the morning, to take upon himself the command of that army. He was attended in this march by three bataillons infantry and one regiment of cuirassiers, and was joined on the road by a detachment which had been employed to guard the *Sasawa*, which consisted of five bataillons and ten squadrons. The next day he ordered Prince Moritz of Dessau to follow with six bataillons and one regiment of cuirassiers. Those reinforcements joined Bevern's army last Thursday at Mlikowitz, near Kaurzim, six miles from Prague. After this junction the whole force of the Prussian army consisted of 32 bataillons and 111 squadrons. horse dragoons and hussars, making, by the nearest computation, 32m men. many of the bataillons being very incompleat since the last battle.

On Saturday, the 18th, about three in the afternoon, the Prussian army attacked the Austrian near *Kaurzim*. The action was very bloody, and lasted till night; but

the superiority of numbers (for Daun's army was stronger than had been imagined) at length prevailed and the Prussians gave way. The King of Prussia immediately resolved to raise the bloccus of Prague, which accordingly will be executed this morning, and the army will then retire towards Leitmeritz.

On Saturday night, and even last night, it was reported here that the Prussians had gained a compleat victory, but as there was something very doubtfull and contradictory in the accounts, I delayed dispatching the messenger until I should be able to say something with certainty.

I shall now give your Lordship as many of the particulars of this unhappy action near *Kaurzim* as have yet come to my knowledge.[1] The Prussian infantry attacked with great bravery and intrepidity. They drove the Austrians from two *hauteurs* which were *garnies* with cannon, and afterwards attacked the third *hauteur*, but not being supported by their cavalry, they were flancked by the Austrian cavalry and put into confusion and suffered greatly from the cartridge shot of the cannon. The Prussian army remained that night upon or near the field of battle, and yesterday retired towards *Nimburg* upon the Elbe.

[1] It appears from this letter that Mitchell was not present in this battle. Some of the German historians, in relating the desperate efforts of the King to turn the fortune of the day, state that at last he found himself riding up to one of the enemy's batteries, followed by only a few of his guards, and that Mitchell, the English ambassador, then said to him, "Does your Majesty mean to storm the battery alone?" This story, however, shows the general impression that remained in Prussia of the extent to which Mitchell had shared the perils and toils of Frederic throughout this memorable war.

The Austrian army was most advantageously posted, and was sustained by a very numerous artillery, placed upon the high grounds between *Gentitz* and *St. John the Baptist.* I can give no account of the number of troops, nor of the loss they have sustained in this action.

The King of Prussia commanded and exposed his person to the greatest dangers, but thank Heaven he is safe. He returned last night to the camp beyond the Moldau, and will march this morning with the army that lay on that side the river; and the army on this side will soon begin to decamp, and it is believed both armies will join about *Leitmeritz.*

I am just getting on horseback, being advised to set out before the army marches. I shall write to your Lordship more fully from Leitmeritz if I have the good fortune to keep clear of the Austrian irregulars.[2]

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

[2] We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting the following passage respecting this battle from the article already quoted:—"It was the 18th of June—a day which, if the Greek superstition still retained its influence, would be held sacred to Nemesis—a day on which the two greatest princes and soldiers of modern times were taught, by a terrible experience, that neither skill nor valour can fix the inconstancy of fortune. The battle began before noon; and part of the Prussian army maintained the contest till after the midsummer sun had gone down. But at length the King found that his troops, having been repeatedly driven back with frightful carnage, could no longer be led to the charge. He was with difficulty persuaded to quit the field. The officers of his personal staff were under the necessity of expostulating with him, and one of them took the liberty to say, 'Does your Majesty mean to storm the batteries alone?' Thirteen thousand of his bravest followers had perished. Nothing remained for him but to retreat in good order, to raise the siege of Prague, and to hurry his army by different routes out of Bohemia."—Article "Frederic the Great," Edinburgh Review, No 151.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leitmeritz, Monday, 4th July, 1757.

My Lord,

Yesterday the King of Prussia sent for me (which is the first time he has seen any body since he received the news of the death of the Queen Mother). I had the honour to remain with him some hours in his closet. I must own to your Lordship I was most sensibly afflicted to see him indulging his grief, and giving way to the warmest filial affections, by recalling to mind the many obligations he had to her late Majesty, and repeating to me her late Majesty's sufferings, the manner she bore them, the good she did to every body, and the comfort he had to have contributed to make the latter part of her life easy and agreeable.

After this the conversation turned upon common things ;[3] but not of importance enough to be transmitted to your Lordship, and I was glad to prolong it, as he seemed to be amused and to forget for a time that load of grief with which he was overwhelmed.

I am, &c.

Andr. Mitchell.

[3] In a publication of M. Von Raumer, which appeared in this country some years ago, and which was in part made up of extracts from Sir Andrew Mitchell's Dispatches, an account given in conversation by Frederic to Mitchell of his early life, his father's treatment and the causes and consequences of it, &c., is printed as from one of Mitchell's dispatches to Lord Holdernesse. The dispatch referred to (of date, 4th July, 1757), as it appears in Mitchell's draft, signed by him, contains no such passage, but ends

The following dispatch from the Earl of Holdernesse is inserted here on account of its importance.

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

Whitehall, July 17th. 1757.

Sir,

I have already acknowledged in a short letter, by the post, the receipt of your several dispatches by Blackmore, which have been the objects of his Majesty's most serious attention; and I have now the King's command to return you an explicit answer to your letter, and to enable you to lay before the King of Prussia his Majesty's views and resolutions, in the present conjuncture, in the fullest manner, upon every point which has been touched upon in your several conversations with the King of Prussia, and, more particularly, in that interesting one, of which you send an account in your most secret letter of the 29th past.

You will begin by giving his Prussian Majesty the strongest assurances, that though his Majesty received with the deepest concern the news of the unsuccessful action of the 18th past, that concern arises chiefly from the King's sincere friendship and ardent wishes for his Prussian Majesty's success, but has no otherwise operated upon his Majesty's mind, than to increase

as in the text. The passage in question, somewhat differing from M. Von Raumer's edition of it, is to be found in one of Mitchell's Journals. See *post*, chap. ix., Journal, July 1st, 1757.

the King's attention to his Prussian Majesty's interests, and confirms, rather than diminishes, the King's steady resolution of adhering most strictly to the present alliance, by which alone the cause of religion and liberty can be supported. And his Majesty has great pleasure in thinking, that he has now an opportunity of convincing his Prussian Majesty, that it is not his brilliant successes only that keeps this alliance unbroken and unshaken, but that the King's friendship will equally appear in adversity, as in times of the greatest prosperity ; it is therefore his Majesty's pleasure, that you should declare, in his royal name, to the King of Prussia, the King's determination to continue to act in the utmost concert with the King of Prussia, both in peace and in war.

His Majesty had great satisfaction in observing by your letter, that the King of Prussia has collected such a force, and is making such a disposition of his army, as may not only prevent any farther loss, but give reasonable hopes of retrieving what is past. The King has too high an opinion of the King of Prussia's great talents to suppose that he was not sure of such resources as would enable him to carry on his great and extensive projects, notwithstanding the loss of one battle, even supposing it had been more decisive than that of *Kaurzim* [Kolin]. However, his Majesty highly approves the King of Prussia's prudent resolution, to be cautious in his proceedings, when so much is at stake, and equally applauds his determination of not losing a favourable opportunity of attacking his enemies

upon an equality. And the King has that entire reliance upon the King of Prussia's great military abilities, that he will not suffer himself to doubt the success of the next engagement, if it should be right once more to try the fortune of war and to risk another battle during the campaign. The King has heard, from other quarters, that the King of Prussia has received considerable reinforcements from Silesia, without diminishing the number of troops he meant should continue in that province, which he has been enabled to do, by the prudent foresight of the late Marshal Schwerin. Let us take an impartial revision of the situation of affairs, and, though attended with great difficulty and danger, they will be found, by no means, desperate. His Royal Highness, the Duke, has (though with a very inferior force) hitherto found means to check the progress of the French, and, perhaps, the moment may come, even during this campaign, when, by the junction of some Prussian troops, his Royal Highness may display as much skill, and gain as much honour in an offensive, as he has hitherto done by the wise conduct of a defensive war. The army under the command of Marshal Lewold is still entire, and consists, as we are informed, of some of the best troops in the King of Prussia's army; the strong places in Silesia are well garrisoned; so that, though the King of Prussia's enemies are numerous, and their attacks various, there is a great strength ready to be opposed to them.

The hint his Prussian Majesty threw out to you, of

an inclination to peace, is agreeable to the language that Prince has held from the very beginning of the present troubles in Germany : and however improbable it may be, that a safe and a reasonable one could now be procured, the King thinks it right (as everything that falls from his Prussian Majesty has some important meaning) to open himself freely upon this subject. You may, therefore, assure the King of Prussia, that the King will, at all times, be glad to contribute to a general pacification, whenever equitable conditions can be had for himself, the King of Prussia, and their allies. If, therefore, the King of Prussia has any such plan to propose, or thinks that any steps towards a pacification should now be taken, his Majesty would wish to know the King of Prussia's ideas, both as to matter and manner, the King being determined to take no steps in an affair of this consequence, without his Prussian Majesty's concurrence and approbation. But as it is very uncertain, and, indeed, very improbable, that such a peace can now be had, the King is equally disposed to concert with the King of Prussia the necessary measure for carrying on the war with vigour, and, particularly, for disappointing the dangerous views of the Courts of Versailles and Vienna, and of other Princes in alliance with them. In order to which the King would be glad to know the King of Prussia's thoughts, what measures it may be proper to take, for the support of their mutual interests, either with the Princes of the empire, or any other well disposed powers, who are, or ought to be, concerned, for the

support of the Protestant cause. But what seems more immediately necessary, in the present situation of affairs, is, effectually to ensure the continuance of the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Duke of Brunswick in his Majesty's service ;—this is a point which requires immediate notice ; hitherto the Landgrave of Hesse adheres firmly to his engagements, though the position of the enemy has obliged him to retire from his capital. But he has renewed the most pressing solicitations to have an indemnification secured to him, with which request his Majesty will not be averse to comply, in conjunction with the King of Prussia. Some surmizes have also been thrown out, as if the Duke of Brunswick had thoughts of retiring his troops within his own dominions, in case the French army should pass the Weser ; but though the King gives little credit to reports so injurious to that Prince's honour, prudence requires that his Majesty should foresee the worst that may happen, and seek to remedy or prevent it ; and hopes that his Prussian Majesty will use his influence upon those two Princes to keep them steady to their alliance.

You will have seen by my letter of the 5th inst. to Mr. Titley, the endeavours his Majesty is using to gain the Court of Denmark to the interests of the common cause ; but I am sorry to say, that certain appearances do not give his Majesty very sanguine hopes of succeeding in this negociation, though it is so evidently advantageous to the interests of Denmark. And I now send you enclosed copies of two letters

I have lately wrote to Colonel Yorke. The greatest delicacy is necessary in our present dealings with the republick; the turn and spirit of the people would naturally lead them to measures of a very different nature from those pursued by the states; but hastiness, on our part, to make use of this favourable disposition, would put arms in the hands of the present regents, enable them to sow jealousies against us, and to obstruct the main end proposed. Time and patience only can bring about the object we wish for, and mean to attain; but the least show of eagerness, on our part, would give suspicions detrimental to the salutary views his Majesty has long laboured to effectuate.

It remains for me to obviate what carries an appearance of some degree of reproach in the King of Prussia's conversation with you, when he told you, "That before and after the signing of the treaty with the King, he had had the strongest and most authentic assurances from England, that we were absolutely sure of Russia." It is unnecessary to enter into a discussion; but if you will give yourself the trouble to look back to my letters of last year, you will see with what great diffidence his Majesty always spoke of the Court of Russia, and how often the King expressed his apprehensions, that the King of Prussia's resolution of preventing his enemies would be construed as an aggression at Petersbourg, and induce that Court to take measures detrimental to his Prussian Majesty's interests. My subsequent correspondence with Sir

Charles Williams having passed through your hands, you are enabled to set his Majesty's conduct with that Court in its true light. The King has made every possible effort there to secure at least the inaction of the Russians, though the King's endeavours have always been frustrated by the influence of the Court of Vienna, the personal pique the Czarina has to his Prussian Majesty, and the general apprehensions the Russians have of his power. The declaration lately made to Prince Gallitzin, entirely conformable to the language the King of Prussia wished his Majesty should hold to the Court of Petersbourg, can leave no doubt as to his Majesty's real views and intentions, nor will his Majesty diminish his vigilance to this great object. Sir Charles Williams (whatever the reason may be) has become disagreeable to that Court, and his recal from thence was necessary; but his Majesty has it under consideration to appoint him a proper successor, who may be at hand to lay hold of any favourable occurrence in the present reign, or to make the properest use of the demize of that Imperial Crown. And as that event may, considering the state of the Czarina's health, happen very unexpectedly, it will not be amiss for you to take some opportunity of learning the King of Prussia's views in case of such an incident. I am naturally led to say something in regard to the Ottoman Porte, and am impatient to hear that you have received the dispatches I sent you from his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople on the 21st past. No farther resolution will be taken

here till the King of Prussia's thoughts are known upon that dispatch. In the mean time I send you inclosed a copy of a private letter which came in some merchant's packet without address or signature, which seems to give some distant hopes of success.

I should very imperfectly execute his Majesty's commands, were I to stop here and confine myself to those points which I have hitherto touched upon; I shall therefore proceed to acquaint you with some circumstances which will more effectually shew the useful consequences of the King's friendship than perhaps appears by the preceeding part of this letter; which is, by explaining to you the manner in which the exertion of the natural strength of this country can be rendered most useful to the common cause.

I am convinced you will agree with me in one principle: that we must be merchants while we are soldiers; that our trade depends upon a proper exertion of our marine strength; that trade and maritime force depend upon each other; and that the riches, which are the true resources of this country, depend upon its commerce. I have already explained to you the impossibility there is of sending a fleet into the Baltick at the present moment, as also the necessity of having a maritime force upon the several stations mentioned in my letter of the 5th instant; but his Majesty is determined that the fleet intended for the channel service shall at once be made subservient to the views of defending the British dominions; of protecting the

trade ; and yet, at the same time, to cover a number of land forces considerable enough to alarm the coasts of France, and to oblige that power to withdraw a great part of the troops that were intended to annoy the King, and his allies in Germany, in order to protect their own coasts from invasion. In communicating this important point to the King of Prussia, you will not fail to inforce the necessity of secresy, upon which all expeditions of this nature entirely depend ; but you may assure him, at the same time, that it will be done in such a manner, and with such a force as will, with a blessing upon the King's arms, oblige the French to give attention to their safety at home, even though at the risque of the success of their ambitious projects abroad ; and his Prussian Majesty will find more relief from these operations, which may be performed with safety to the King's British dominions, than from the uncertain and precarious efforts of a Baltick squadron, though his Majesty does not lose sight of that object, also, if the negociation in Denmark should succeed.

The distant operations in America are of at least as much consequence to what ought to be, and I am persuaded is, the King of Prussia's ultimate end in the measures he has pursued, viz., a safe and honourable peace. There is no answering for success ; but at least it will be a comfort for his Prussian Majesty to know, that the utmost vigilance and care has been used by the King, as far as circumstances would allow, not to be baffled in that point, which is the primary cause of all the present disturbances ; and, notwithstanding other

intervening circumstances, you will agree with me that it is the result of the great struggle between England and France, that will determine the conditions of the future peace. His Majesty means and hopes to obtain a safe one; and in order to it will push the war with vigour, till that happy moment shall come. With this view likewise his Majesty, far from declining a proper support to the King of Prussia, is determined to give it him. His Majesty does justice to the King of Prussia's disinterested way of acting, and is the first to confess that he has never been a *charge à ses alliés*. His Majesty does justice likewise to the King of Prussia's delicacy in his way of talking upon subsidies; but the truth is, men are not to be furnished from hence; money may, at a critical moment, enable his Prussian Majesty to supply what is wanting on our part; and we may be able to furnish gold, as our contingent in the alliance. The King is sensible of the great efforts his Prussian Majesty has been obliged to make, and of the extraordinary expences he has been at in the prosecution of the war; and, considering the number of his enemies, and the different parts of his dominions, which are liable to be attacked, it would not be surprizing if his revenues should be so far diminished as to make him think of assistance from his allies; and the King persuades himself his Prussian Majesty will never propose such terms as it would be improper for his Majesty to demand from his people. You must therefore endeavour to treat this nice point with delicacy towards the King of Prussia's scruples, but with an eye, at the

same time, to his Majesty's resolution of not overburthening his willing subjects. You must familiarize the King of Prussia to a discourse of this nature, and shew him that the pecuniary assistance offered to him, is only meant as the convenient and proper contingent of England to her allies. And you will use your utmost endeavours to draw an explanation from the King of Prussia, what sum may be wanted to enable him to prosecute his views for the common cause, and in what manner he would mean to apply the assistance his Majesty may, in that shape, be enabled to give him. You may therefore assure his Prussian Majesty, in the strongest terms, that whenever the situation of his affairs shall require it, the King is determined to furnish him with such a sum as may with propriety be asked of Parliament.

The dispatch I now send you is of such consequence in itself, and embraces so large a field, that I must recommend it to you to take proper time to digest, and reflect upon the whole, before you begin to execute his Majesty's commands. You have experience enough of the King of Prussia's character, and of his great knowledge in business, to feel the necessity there is of being prepared upon every objection that may be started, and upon every question that may be asked you. You are fully apprized of his Majesty's thoughts; much may depend upon the prudent management of the verbal explanations you will give. Your past conduct has been so well approved by the King, that his Majesty has been induced to trust to you for the

execution of his orders, upon the most material points, upon which any foreign Minister may have received his master's instructions.

I am with great truth and regard, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
HOLDERNESSE.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Pirna, Thursday, 28th July, 1757.

MY LORD,

Last Sunday, the 24th, I had the honour of your Lordship's dispatch of the 5th, by Bullock, who says he had been detained several days in Holland.

On the march next morning from *Nellendorf*, I took an opportunity to acquaint his Prussian Majesty with the contents of it, but I have not the satisfaction to assure your Lordship that I had the happiness to convince him. The notions he had framed of the superiority and strength of the English navy were not to be shaken. He therefore imputed to commercial and political views the negative that had been given to his request; but he observed that this negative should have been given sooner, to which, as I could not answer, I endeavoured to turn the conversation.

In the situation of mind in which his Prussian Majesty now is, and with the load of business and bad news, that would sink any other man, I thought it not expedient to insist too much upon some of the points your Lordship suggested, nor even to make use of that freedom of conversation with which he sometimes

indulges me, and by being moderate in the defence of a negative, which at least admits of some doubts. I was glad to find that he bore the disappointment with more temper and calmness than could be expected.

Lamb, the messenger, arrived at Pirna on the 26th, in the night, with your Lordship's dispatch of the 17th; never anything came more opportunely, never anything was more necessary; it was a draught of comfort to one who has not had a single drop since the 18th June.

I waited on his Prussian Majesty early in the morning and fairly communicated to him his Majesty's noble, and generous, and just sentiments, which were received with a flow of gratitude not to be described. After a short pause, he said, "I am deeply sensible of the King's and your nation's generosity, but I do not wish to be a burden to my allies; I would have you delay answering this letter till affairs are ended in Lusatia; if I succeed I will then consult with you upon the different points suggested in the letter and give my opinion freely upon them. If I am beat, there will be no occasion to answer it at all; it will be out of your power to save me, and I would not willingly abuse the generosity of my allies by drawing them into unnecessary and expensive engagements that can answer no valuable purpose." I was pleased, but not surprised, with the noble dignity of this answer, for I have seen the King of Prussia great in prosperity, but greater still in adversity.

It is needless, and, indeed, would be improper for me

to say anything of the King of Prussia's peculiar situation at this time, as he tells me he has himself given a fair account of it in a letter to his Majesty. He added, when he told me this, from such an ally nothing should be concealed or disguised.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Wednesday, 17th August, 1757.

MY LORD,

I shall now make use of the indulgence your Lordship is pleased to promise me, and write with freedom the reasons for the request [4] contained in my very secret letter of the 11th July.

I have been since the month of November last in a most difficult and critical situation, without being able to say anything solid or satisfactory to the King of Prussia till I received your Lordship's most comfortable letter of the 17th July.

The conversations I have had with his Prussian Majesty, of which, from time to time, I have given an account, are the truest pictures of what I suffered. I saw the King of Prussia would no longer be amused with words, and concluded the period was come when I could no more be of use ; I therefore very sincerely desired to be recalled.

I have many obligations to your Lordship, and many

[4] To be recalled.

to his Prussian Majesty, and the only private grievance I can complain of is, that of being obliged to spend a great deal more money than I receive, and of making a second campaign at my own expence.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Sunday, 28th August, 1757.

MY LORD,

My most hearty thanks for your private letter of the 16th. I am persuaded you will not blame me for the request I made at Leitmeritz, when your Lordship shall have read my private letter of the 17th.

I hope my letter by Lambe will reach you before this comes to hand, in order to make what I am going to say intelligible.

England is cheated, and ministers duped by Hanover: what a pitiful figure will they make in Europe! The most notorious breach of faith has been wantonly committed to support a weak, ill-judged, and ineffectual measure. You know what has happened: why was not the King of Prussia previously consulted? I can answer with my head he would have yielded to any reasonable proposition for the safety of Hanover.

What will Posterity say of an Administration that made the Treaty of Westminster for the safety of Hanover, and suffered the Hanover ministers to say openly, that they have no treaty with the King of Prussia, nay, have suffered them to betray that prince

who has risqued his all to save them, and whose misfortunes are owing to his generosity and good faith?

The King of Prussia has now against him the Russian army and fleet, 20m Swedes, an army of the empire, supported by 30m French, and the great Austrian army of 100m men, and, as if he had not enemies enough, the Convention, to save Hanover from winter quarters, will let loose 60 or 80m more French; what prospect can you have, my dear Lord, to exist till next year? far less to continue the war.

I sincerely wish that this unhappy measure may answer the end proposed; but I fear it can only add infamy to the ruin of Hanover. The answer of the Court of Vienna will either be an absolute and a haughty refusal, or, if the proposition be accepted, it will be clogged with such hard conditions, as the King can never agree to; if he should, the execution still depends upon France, of whose good faith and affection we have so many examples.

Let us have done with negociating; after what has happened no man will trust us! I know not how to look the King of Prussia in the face, and honour, my Lord, is not to be purchased with money.

Thus I have poured out my soul to your Lordship, but shall strictly obey my instructions while I have the unfortunate honour to serve. I never can give your Lordship a stronger proof of the unreserved confidence and sincere affection with which

I am

Yours, &c.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Wednesday, 31*st August,* 1757.

My Lord,

The King of Prussia arrived here last Monday. I waited on him immediately, and found him in as good spirits as if he had returned from a successful expedition; he desired me to come to him the next day, when he would talk to me of business.

Yesterday I had a very long conversation with his Prussian Majesty, in which I acquainted him with the assurances I was enabled to give on the part of his Majesty, on all the points contained in your Lordship's most important dispatch of the 17th July, to which, to avoid repetition and to save time, I beg leave to refer.

When I pressed his Prussian Majesty to communicate his thoughts of a plan for a general pacification, he answered, "He desired nothing so much as peace, but that it was impossible to propose any plan before the end of the campaign."

I then desired to know if he yet had had time to think of proper measures to be taken for carrying on the war with vigour. His answer was nearly the same, that till this campaign was ended, it was impossible to determine what would be the proper measures for the next.

With regard to his views in Russia, in case of the death of the present Empress, he has reason to believe that the Great Duke and Dutchess are well inclined

towards him; and he wishes to live in peace and friendship with them.

As to the Ottoman Porte, he thinks if they could be brought to act it might be of the greatest utility; and he added, that he was willing on his part to go all lengths, that he had at that court an emissary with a credit for 300m crowns, that is, 50m sterling, and he hoped on this occasion the King would do his utmost to render the Porte active.

I then touched on the affair of the subsidy from England, in the manner directed in your Lordship's letter. His Prussian Majesty answered, "he was sorry it was now become necessary;" that the French and Russians having taken possession of so great a part of his dominions, he saw his resources would fail; he was, therefore, obliged most unwillingly to become a burden to his allies; that if he could weather it out till winter, there would be time for negociation; that a subsidy of four millions of crowns would be necessary for the next year.

I took the liberty to observe, that this subsidy was larger than England had ever given in one year to any foreign power whatever; that the nation, engaged in a most expensive war with France, might find a difficulty in raising so great a sum.

His answer was, that he had hitherto asked nothing; that necessity only had forced him to it now; that if measures were to be concerted, they ought to be such as might be effectual.

I replied that it was absolutely necessary his Prussian

Majesty should explain in what manner he intended to apply the assistance his Majesty may be enabled by his Parliament to give, in order to satisfy his Majesty and the nation of the expediency and utility of granting so large a subsidy as 670m pounds in one year. His answer was, it was impossible to be particular as to the manner in which this sum may be usefully employed, till we see the end of the campaign.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Erfurth, Saturday, September 17th, 1757.

MY LORD,

Yesterday when I saw the King of Prussia, he told me he heard that the King had actually signed a neutrality with the French. I assured him that I was absolutely uninformed, having had no letter from England since the 16th August, and none from his Royal Highness the Duke since the 2nd inst.

His Prussian Majesty seemed much pleased with the visit he had made the day before to the Duke of Gotha. He said he had seen no enemy upon the road; only two regiments of Austrian Hussars appeared at a distance, but retired as fast as they could before him. He took, however, five men and an officer of the hussars prisoners.

This day the King of Prussia has marked out a camp for his whole army, (as if they were to come hither), and demands have been made for bread and forage

accordingly, but I hope he will not trust to this stratagem too long, as the enemy, informed of the detachments sent from *Buttstodt*, must of consequence know that the army he has here does not exceed 9m men.

The celerity of his march, and the terror of his name, have struck the French and the army of the empire with a pannick, and disconcerted their affairs, at least for some time; but as they are already three times as strong, and their numbers are daily increasing, it is probable they will soon return towards this place, in which case, it is thought we must retire towards *Leipsic* or *Hall*, in order to be at hand to join the detachments which have been made to Torgau and Halberstadt, which all together will form a corps of about 27m, including those that were in garrison in those places.

The Prussian army is so scattered in small corps in Saxony, that I fear they may be surrounded or overpowered by numbers, and this must have happened six weeks ago, had the great Austrian army acted with spirit.

The King of Prussia bears his misfortunes with great magnanimity, and though they come very thick one upon another, he never appears discouraged or disconcerted. He, even in public, shows a chearfulness and easiness of mind, difficult to be maintained in such circumstances. He sees and feels at the same time the desperate situation of his affairs, but his resentments are stronger than his political principles.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

H.R.H. The Duke of Cumberland to Mr. Mitchell.

Stade, September 30th, 1757.

Mr. Mitchell,

Your two letters of August 31, and September 17, are both come safe to hand; but I have not been able to answer them sooner.

In compliance with his Majesty's intentions and orders, I have entered upon, and signed a *Convention*, on the 9th instant, with Mãal[5] *Richelieu*, on his Majesty's part as *Elector;* in order to procure a suspension of arms between the two armies, which may pave the way to further peaceable measures. The allied troops of his Majesty's army under my command are, in the mean while, to march into their respective countries. Part of his Majesty's own troops are quartered in this town, or encamped in the *environs;* and the rest is to cross the *Elbe*. The French remain in possession of that part of the country they have seized upon; but have evacuated the town of *Bremen* only, in order to recover the free navigation of the *Weser* to that place, which I had given orders to his Majesty's squadron, stationed at the mouth of that river, to stop, upon the French's taking possession of *Bremen* the latter end of last month.

By all the reports I have seen from Brunswic and other parts, I find the French are extremely uneasy, on account of his *Prussian* Majesty's motions, which most

[5] Maréchal.

probably must force them to detach from Marshall *Richelieu's* army. I leave you to judge (but this consideration I make to yourself, not desiring you to offer it elsewhere,) what a different turn to affairs it would have given, had his *Prussian* Majesty caused a diversion, which his motions must now occasion, of the enemy's forces, as might perhaps have been effected two or three months ago.

I have received a dispatch from Lord Holdernesse, in which was enclosed copy of the *most secret* letter. He wrote to you on the 17th of last July, whereby I am informed of, and am very glad to see, his Majesty's intentions of the King's resolution[6] to go the lengths mentioned in that letter, in support of his *Prussian* Majesty. Lord Holdernesse mentions also his Majesty's plan (which I find is now carried into execution) of employing no inconsiderable part of both his sea and land forces, to cause a diversion of those of the enemy, which, I hope, will be productive of some immediate advantage to his Majesty's affairs, as well as of a favourable influence for those of his Prussian Majesty.

I have received accounts that I can depend upon, and by which I am extremely glad to see that the action of the 30th of last August, between the *Russian* and *Prussian* armies, does not prove to be so much to the disadvantage of the last, as was at first reported. And

[6] His Royal Highness writes here not very intelligibly; at least, he overlays his meaning. I suppose he meant to say he was glad to see the King's resolution to go, &c., which is not improved by saying he was glad to see "the King's intentions of the King's resolution."

since that we have received further accounts from different parts, which confirm the march of Marshal *Apraxin's* army back to *Russia*, occasioned, as it is, by the news of the *Czarina's* death, and the consequences of such an important event at this critical time.

I remain, your very affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Naumburg, 15th October, 1757.

MY LORD,

I have avoided repeating in my letters the many disagreeable observations thrown out upon the Hanover Convention; the principles on which it is founded are not to be defended, and the consequences of it are too obvious to be mentioned; but I must not conceal from your Lordship, that the King of Prussia was very much affected with the first accounts he had of it, three weeks before I had any notice whatever. The first certain account that I received was from Baron Munchhausen, whose letter is of so extraordinary a nature that I send a copy inclosed. He disclaims the whole, and yet his R.H. the Duke, in his letter of the 30th September, says, "I have, in compliance with his Majesty's intentions and orders, entered upon and signed a convention," &c. The King of Prussia told me in confidence that he did not know in what manner to write to the King, as his Majesty, in his letter, seemed to disavow and to disapprove of all that had been done at Hanover. There is a mystery that I do not care to dive into.

Since the Hanover Convention is ratified, I think it out of the power of England to save the King of Prussia, if France has a mind to ruin him; but I cannot help suspecting that France has no such intention, and though the high spirit of the King of Prussia may have hitherto prevented any direct application from him, yet I know he has friends at that Court, and the ministers must see it is not their interest to ruin him. I am confirmed in this suspicion by the conduct of the Duke de Richelieu and the Prince de Soubise; had they acted with vigour since the Convention was signed, they might have been in possession of Berlin, and have cut off all his resources and hopes; besides, this may be one reason why his Prussian Majesty has delayed answering the King's letter, or saying anything decisive on the affair of the subsidy offered.

All this is but conjecture, and, after what has happened, can the King of Prussia be blamed if he should save himself by submitting to France? and will it not be more for the interest of England that the King of Prussia should be saved, even by France, than extinguished or rendered inconsiderable to aggrandise the already too great and too insolent House of Austria?

As to what your Lordship is pleased to communicate concerning the negociations with Spain and some Princes of Italy, I must freely tell you, I think they will all prove abortive. After the scenes we have lately seen, and the distinctions that have lately been made, who can, who will trust us?

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Naumburg, Saturday, 15th October, 1757.

My Lord,

I must do the King of Prussia the justice to own that he has talked to me of the Convention at Hanover, with more temper and calmness than I expected, and without making use of any harsh expression, though he sees and feels the fatal consequences of it to himself and to the whole system.[7]

He said one day, you see what a handfull of men have done here against an army at least four times their number. If this unhappy Convention had never been thought of, with the army I have, joined to the Hanoverian, I could perhaps have dislodged the French from their winter quarters.

When I consider the desperate state of the King of Prussia, left alone to struggle with the whole power of France, Austria, Russia, and Sweden, whilst I admire his magnanimity I cannot but blame his prudence in not endeavouring to save himself by negotiation before it is too late, for I have not yet been able to discover that he has taken any step of this kind, notwithstanding the

[7] In his *Dialogue des Morts,* Frederic has the following passage:—

"*Marlborough.* Et l'Angleterre a-t-elle produit quelque grand général qui m'ait succédé?

"*Lichtenstein.* Le Duc de Cumberland.

"*Marlborough.* Combien de batailles a-t-il gagnées?

"*Lichtenstein.* Il a été battu à Fontenoy, à Hastenbeek, et a manqué d'être fait prisonnier de guerre à Stade, lui, et son armée."

Œuvres Posthumes de Frédéric II., Roi de Prusse, tom. vi., p. 109.

numberless and groundless imputations and suspicions that have been from time to time thrown out against him.

I am persuaded that the chief reason of the King of Prussia not giving any answer to the generous offer of assistance made to him by the King arises from a most honourable motive of not putting his Majesty and the nation to an unnecessary expense that would not answer the purpose intended. He wants to see what he can do against his enemies, and will be better able to determine what assistance may be necessary.

If the King of Prussia can but gain time and get into winter, there still may be a possibility of saving him, for he has resources greater than can well be imagined ; I shall at present mention but one. There are 20_{m} recruits already disciplined at Berlin ; those incorporated with the old troops will still make a powerful army, but I tremble for the fate of Berlin if the Duke of Richelieu, General Marshall, and the Swedes should march at once that way.

At all events, I hope every preparatory step will be taken in England to endeavour to save and assist the King of Prussia, and to make up for past faults.

If the King of Prussia should be ruined, or obliged from necessity to throw himself into the arms of France (which he has no inclination to do), my duty obliges me to put your Lordship in mind what the situation of England will be next year, without a single friend upon the Continent, to resist the whole undiverted power of France, instigated by the malice of the House

of Austria, against which too early and too vigorous preparations cannot be made, and I most heartily wish they may be effectual.

I have but one imagination that comforts me, which arises from the insatiable ambition of the French. They have already ruined a great part of Germany, and reduced the House of Brandenburg. They are at this moment masters of Germany, and have the Empress Queen almost as much in their power as they have the King of Prussia. Now it is not consistent with common sense to leave the House of Austria possessed of a degree of power greater than it ever had, and without a rival in the Empire. I therefore flatter myself they will find some pretence to save the King of Prussia, which may embroil them with their new ally and give a breathing time to England.

If the Empress of Russia should die, I hope not a moment will be lost to improve an event that may still save the whole, however melancholy it is to think that the fate of Europe should depend upon such accidents.

I wish your Lordship would inform me whether any and what steps have been taken lately at the Ottoman Porte ; if the war lasts another year our success there will be of the greatest importance.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Monday, 24th October, 1757.

My Lord,

Since I wrote to your Lordship, the 15th, by Roworth, I have received no letters from England.

The corps under the command of Marechal Keith remained at *Naumburg* till the 21st, till the Marechal having notice that the army of Prince Hilburgshausen and that of Prince Soubise were in motion, and that their advanced parties had occupied several towns and villages within two German miles of *Naumburg*, he ordered General Forcade to march to *Merseburg* with three bataillons, and the Marechal and General Retzow marched at the same instant of time to *Weisenfels*, also with three bataillons, both those places having been occupied by small detachments which the Marechal had sent off the day before.

The next morning, Marechal Keith marched with one bataillon and about sixty hussars and dragoons, to Leipzig, leaving the command at *Weisenfels* to General Retzow.

I accompanied the Marechal in this march. We saw the enemie's hussars very near in different parties, but they did not think fit to attack, though we were encumbered with a deal of baggage, bread waggons, and all the sick. Perhaps one reason of their not attacking may be owing to three hundred Austrian and French prisoners that marched along with us, which the enemy, at the distance they reconnoitered, might mistake for

actual force. After a march of eight hours we arrived here in the afternoon, and Major-General Hausen, who commands in *Leipzig*, delivered to me a letter from the King of Prussia of the 17th.

I am informed that on the 17th the advanced guard of General Haddick's corps came to one of the gates of Berlin, and after a short skirmish with the guard at the gate, in which General Papishai that led them was killed, they exacted a contribution of 200m crowns, and then retired, having notice probably that the corps commanded by Prince Moritz of Dessau was not far off, which accordingly entered Berlin the next day. The conduct of General Rochow, who commanded at Berlin, is highly blamed. He had force more than sufficient to have beat twice the number of his enemy, which did not exceed three thousand, but he seems to have taken no sort of precaution, and by his indiscretion and want of judgment exposed the whole Royal Family to the risk of being made prisoners, and the town to be plundered. The Queen and the rest of the Royal Family left Berlin after the enemy were at or within the gates, but I hear they have happily arrived at *Spandaw*.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

Leipzig, 1st Nov., 1757.

MY LORD,

Having wrote your Grace the 15th and 24th October, I have now very little to add, only I take the

liberty to put your Grace in mind that the subsidy proposed for the King of Prussia should be settled as soon as possible, and I have ventured to assure his Prussian Majesty that he might depend upon your Grace's friendship in every step of this affair. I know your Lordship has many friends in the city willing to serve the public and themselves in remittances, but I flatter myself your Grace will come under no engagements to any of them, and that by your Grace's management this affair may be so conducted as to convince his Prussian Majesty how much you have his interest at heart by making the generosity of your country as beneficial to him as possible.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—His Prussian Majesty has made new demands upon this town, which are indeed hard, and he has permitted his soldiers to plunder a house of Count Bruhl's, which I think a most dangerous example for himself, his subjects, and his army. I beg leave to offer my compliments to her Grace of Newcastle.

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Sunday, 6th Nov., 1757.

MY LORD,

I have the joy to acquaint your Lordship, that yesterday the 5th, the King of Prussia gained a most compleat victory over the allied army. The particulars

I have hitherto learned are, that the allied army was two days before reinforced with 20 bataillons and some regiments of cavalry from the Duke of Richelieu's army, that they seemed to point towards *Freyberg*, and made several marches and countermarches, to cover their true design ; which was to get between the Prussian army and Merseburg, and then to attack them.

Major-General Seydelitz charged the enemie's cavalry with the dragoons and hussars, broke them, and pierced as far as the second line, which he likewise put into confusion. Then the infantry of the left of the Prussians (where Prince Henry commanded) attacked, and after three hours fighting, obtained a most compleat victory. The Prince's conduct and behaviour is highly commended. The enemy fled in great confusion from the field of battle, and it is believed that they have abandoned the whole or greater part of their artillery and baggage. Their loss is very considerable. The King of Prussia pursued till it was quite dark, and came into his quarters at *Burgwerden* after 8 o'clock at night. I hear two French lieutenant-generals, and two or three Marechaux de camp are made prisoners, besides a very great number of officers.

The loss on the side of the Prussians is very moderate. Prince Henry is slightly wounded. The brave General Seydelitz is also slightly wounded, and Lieutenant-General Meinicke killed.

I send this important news by Captain Darcy, who was present in the action, and will give your Lordship a full account of every thing. He has behaved so well

during this campaign that I heartily wish he was in his Majesty's service.

I am, &c.,

AND^R. MITCHELL.

P.S.—The action began at about a quarter after three, and lasted till about six at night. The King of Prussia's head-quarter on Friday night was *Rossbach*, a village distant half a league from the field of battle, and a league and a half from *Weisenfels*.

The army of the Empire being placed as a *corps de reserve* on a high ground, did not engage, but retired very fast as soon as they perceived the French to give way; so, thank Heaven, the greatest loss has fallen upon the French. The whole force the King of Prussia had with him did not exceed 25m,[8] and that of the enemy was not less than 60m.

5 *Afternoon.*

I have this instant received a letter from Monsieur Eichel, of which I send a copy inclosed.

[8] See the next letter. The writer already quoted has sketched the consequences of this battle with his usual force and felicity; (the battle of Leuthen to which he refers will be found described a few pages further on):—"The King's fame filled all the world. He had, during the last year, maintained a contest, on terms of advantage, against three powers, the weakest of which had more than three times his resources. He had fought four great pitched battles against superior forces. Three of these battles he had gained; and the defeat of Kolin, repaired as it had been, rather raised than lowered his military renown. The victory of Leuthen is, to this day, the proudest on the roll of Prussian fame. Leipsic, indeed, and Waterloo, produced consequences more important to mankind. But the glory of Leipsic must be shared by the Prussians with the Austrians and Russians; and at Waterloo the British infantry bore the burden and heat of the day. The victory of Rosbach was, in a military point of view, less honourable than that of Leuthen; for it was gained over an incapable general and a disorganised army. But the moral effect which it produced was immense. All the preceding triumphs of Frederic had been triumphs over Germans, and could excite no emotions of

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Friday, 11*th Nov.,* 1757.

My Lord,

As the King of Prussia sends Major Grant to acquaint his Majesty with the particulars of the late

national pride among the German people. It was impossible that a Hessian or a Hanoverian could feel any patriotic exultation at hearing that Pomeranians slaughtered Moravians, or that Saxon banners had been hung in the churches of Berlin. Indeed, though the military character of the Germans justly stood high throughout the world, they could boast of no great day which belonged to them as a people;—of no Agincourt, of no Bannockburn. Most of their victories had been gained over each other; and their splendid exploits against foreigners had been achieved under the command of Eugene, who was himself a foreigner. The news of the battle of Rosbach stirred the blood of the whole of the mighty population from the Alps to the Baltic, and from the borders of Courland to those of Loraine. Westphalia and Lower Saxony had been deluged by a great host of strangers, whose speech was unintelligible, and whose petulant and licentious manners had excited the strongest feelings of disgust and hatred. That great host had been put to flight by a small band of German warriors, led by a prince of German blood, on the side of father and mother, and marked by the fair hair and the clear blue eye of Germany. Never, since the dissolution of the empire of Charlemagne, had the Teutonic race won such a field against the French. The tidings called forth a general burst of delight and pride from the whole of the great family which spoke the various dialects of the ancient language of Arminius. The fame of Frederic began to supply, in some degree, the place of a common government and of a common capital. It became a rallying point for all true Germans—a subject of mutual congratulation to the Bavarian and the Westphalian, to the citizen of Frankfort and the citizen of Nuremberg. Then first it was manifest that the Germans were truly a nation. Then first was discernible that patriotic spirit which, in 1813, achieved the great deliverance of Central Europe, and which still guards, and long will guard, against foreign ambition, the old freedom of the Rhine.

"Nor were the effects produced by that celebrated day merely political. The greatest masters of German poetry and eloquence have admitted that, though the great King neither valued nor understood his native language, though he looked on France as the only seat of taste and philosophy; yet, in his own despite, he did much to emancipate the genius of his countrymen from the foreign yoke; and that, in the act of vanquishing Soubise, he was, unintentionally, rousing the spirit which soon began to question the literary precedence of Boileau and Voltaire. So strangely do events confound all the plans of man. A prince who read only French, who wrote only French, who ranked as a French classic, became, quite unconsciously, the means of liberating

action of the 5th, it is almost needless for me to enter into a detail of particulars; that gentleman, having been

half the continent from the dominion of that French criticism, of which he was himself, to the end of his life, a slave. Yet even the enthusiasm of Germany in favour of Frederic, hardly equalled the enthusiasm of England. The birth-day of our ally was celebrated with as much enthusiasm as that of our own sovereign; and at night the streets of London were in a blaze with illuminations. Portraits of the Hero of Rosbach, with his cocked hat and long pigtail, were in every house. An attentive observer will, at this day, find in the parlours of old-fashioned inns, and in the portfolios of print-sellers, twenty portraits of Frederic for one of George II. The sign-painters were everywhere employed in touching up Admiral Vernon into the King of Prussia."

The following is Frederic's own description of the battle of Rosbach :—

"Le Roi fut lui-même reconnoître la marche de Mr. de Soubise & fut convaincu qu'elle étoit dirigée sur Mersebourg; les François marchoient très lentement, parce qu'ils avoient formé différens bataillons en colonnes, ce qui les arrêtoit chaque fois que les chemins étroits les obligeoient de se rompre. Il étoit deux heures lorsque les Prussiens abbattirent leur tentes; ils firent un quart de conversion à gauche & se mirent en marche. Le Roi côtoya l'armée de Mr. de Soubise; ses troupes étoient couvertes par le marais qui vient de Braunsdorf, & qui s'étandant à un grand quart de lieue de là, se perd à 2,000 pas de Rosbach. Mr. de Seidlitz faisoit l'avant-garde avec toute la cavalerie; il eut ordre de se glisser par des bas-fonds dont cette contrée est remplie, pour tourner la cavalerie françoise & fondre sur les têtes de leurs colonnes, ayant qu'elles eussent le temps de se former. Le Roi ne put laisser au Prince Ferdinand, qui commandoit ce jour-là la droite de l'armée, que les vieilles gardes de la cavalerie, qu'il mit sur un rang pour en faire montre; ce qui se pouvoit d'autant mieux, qu'une partie du marais de Braunsdorf couvroit cette droite. Les deux armées en se cotoyant s'approchoient toujours d'avantage. L'armée du Roi tenoit soigneusement une petite élévation qui va droit à Rosbach; celle des François, qui ne connoissoit pas apparemment le terrain, marchoit par un fond. Le Roi fit établir une batterie sur cette hauteur, dont les effets devinrent décisifs dans l'action. Les François en établirent une vis-à-vis dans un fond, & comme elle tiroit de bas en haut, elles ne produisit aucun effet. Pendant qu'on prenoit ces arrangemens de part et d'autre, Mr. de Seidlitz avoit tourné la droite des ennemis, sans qu'ils s'en apperçussent; il fondit alors avec impétuosité sur cette cavalerie; les deux régimens autrichiens formèrent un front, & soutinrent le choc; mais se trouvant abandonnés par les François, à l'exception du regiment de Fitzjames qui donna, ils furent presque entièrement détruits. L'infanterie des deux armées étoit encore en marche, et leurs têtes n'étoient qu'à la distance de cinq-cents pas: le Roi auroit voulu gagner le village de Reichardswerben; mais comme il restoit 600 pas à faire pour y arriver et qu'on s'attendoit d'un moment à l'autre à voir l'action s'engager, il y détacha le Maréchal Keith avec 5 bataillons, en quoi consistoit toute la seconde ligne; le Roi s'avança en même temps à 200 pas des deux lignes françoises, et s'apperçut que leur ordre de bataille étoit composé de

present in the action, will be better able to satisfy your Lordship's curiosity with regard to what happened then,

bataillons en colonnes alternativement enlacés dans des bataillons étendus. Cette aile de Mr. de Soubise étoit en l'air, et la cavalerie prussienne étant occupée à poursuivre celle des ennemis, on ne peut se servir que de l'infanterie pour deborder l'aile; dans cette vue le Roi mit en ligne deux bataillons de grenadiers qui faisoient un crochet à son flanc gauche; ils eurent ordre, au moment que les François avanceroient, de faire une demi-conversion à droite, ce qui les portoit necessairement sur le flanc de l'ennemi. Cette disposition fut executée ponctuellement. Aussi dès que les François avancèrent, ils reçurent le feu de ces grenadiers en flanc, et après avoir essuyé tout au plus trois décharges du régiment de Bronswie, on vit que leurs colonnes se pressoient vers la gauche; elles eurent bientôt resserré ces bataillons étendus qui les séparoient; la masse de cette infanterie devenoient de moment en moment plus grosse, plus lourde, et plus confuse, plus elle se precipitoit sur sa gauche, plus elle étoit débordée par le front des Prussiens. Tandis que le désordre alloit encroissant dans l'armée de Mr. de Soubise, le Roi fut averti qu'un corps de cavalerie ennemie se présentoit derrière ses troupes; il fit rassembler en hâte les premiers escadrons que l'on put trouver; à peine les eut-il opposés à ceux qui se montroient derrière son front, que ces derniers se retirèrent avec promptitude; alors les gardes du corps & les gendarmes furent employés contre l'infanterie françoise, qui se trouvoit dans le plus grand désordre; la cavalerie l'attaqua, et l'ayant facilement dispersée, elle fit un nombre considérable de François prisonniers. Il étoit 6 heures du soir quand ce choc se donna; le temps étoit couvert, et l'obscurité si grande, qu'il y auroit eu de l'imprudence à poursuivre l'ennemi, quelle que fût la confusion dans laquelle continuoit sa déroute. Le Roi se contenta d'envoyer à sa poursuite différens partis de cuirassiers, de dragons et de housards, dont aucun ne passoit 30 maîtres. Pendant cette action 10 bataillons de la droite des Prussiens avoient gardé le fusil sur l'epaule sans charger; le Prince Ferdinand de Bronswie, qui les commandoit, n'avoit pas quitté le marais de Braunsdorf, servant à couvrir une partie de son front; il avoit chassé les troupes des cercles qui lui etoient opposées, par quelques volées de canon, & leur avoit fait lacher le pied. Il n'y eut que 7 bataillons de l'armée du Roi qui furent dans le feu, et tout l'engagement du combat jusqu'à la decision ne dura qu'une heure et demie."—*Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans*, tom. i., pp. 215—220.

In a letter to Voltaire (28th April, 1759), Frederic relates the following curious anecdote in connection with the battle of Rosbach:—

"A la bataille de Rosbach un officier français blessé et couché sur la place, demandait à cor et à cri un lavement. Voulez-vous bien croire que cent personnes officieuses se sont empressées pour le lui procurer? Un lavement anodin, reçu sur un champ de bataille, en présence d'une armée, cela est certainement singulier; mais cela est vrai, et connu de tout le monde. Dans cette tragi-comédie que nous jouons, il arrive souvent des aventures bouffonnes qui ne ressemblent à rien, et qu'une paix de mille ans ne produirait pas; mais il faut avouer qu'elles sont cruellement achetées.

and since, and you may safely depend upon the accounts he will give.

But there are some circumstances attending this action of so very extraordinary a nature, that nothing less than the greatest authority can render them credible.

I shall, therefore, give your Lordship an account of such particulars I had from the King of Prussia, when I had the honour to congratulate him upon his late victory.

The whole number of the Prussian troops upon the field of battle did not exceed 18m, of which 4500 were dragoons and hussars. The enemy, by the most moderate computation, were from 50 to 60m. Of the Prussians, only seven bataillons, and all the cavalry were engaged. The loss on the side of the Prussians, killed, wounded, and missing, amounts to 373, as I have seen by the returns.

Of the combined army, it was reckoned there were killed on the field of battle from 800 to 1000, upwards of 6000 prisoners taken, amongst whom are 8 general officers, and a great number of gentlemen of distinguished families. The *déroute* was so general, and the pannick so strong, that the men threw away their muskets, fled in the greatest confusion, and passed the *Unstrut* at *Freyberg*, and at two other places in the night; and it is the unanimous opinion of the Prussian Generals, that had there been two hours more daylight, this French army would have been totally exterminated.

There are now in the hands of the Prussians 70

pieces of cannon; and it is expected more will still be found, which were thrown into the river. They have taken 15 standards, eight pair of colours, and two pair of kettle drums.

The hussars and dragoons were despatched on the 6th, in the morning, after the fugitives. They have made many prisoners, and pushed the enemy as far as the gates of Erfurth. Some fled to *Jena*, and the whole army is dispersed. What a pity it is that the King of Prussia's present circumstances and situation does not permit him to push this glorious victory with the vigour he is always ready to exert, and consequently that he cannot reap the full fruits of his labours.

The King of Prussia returned to Leipzig on the 9th, at night, and will set out forthwith for his army in Silesia, as he has received news that the Austrians have invested *Schweidnitz*.

I hear the Duke of Richelieu, immediately after the news of the battle, evacuated the country of Halberstadt, and it is reported that the troops of the Empire, and some of the French, are retired towards Hesse.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

MY LORD, *Leipzig, Sunday, 13th Nov.*, 1757.

Though the King of Prussia has given the strongest assurances of not treating without the consent

of the King in both capacities, and I believe him sincere, yet I must not omit acquainting your Lordship with a word that dropt from him in the audience of yesterday, viz., that France had hinted that he would do well to put himself into their hands, and send a person accredited to Versailles, which he said he had refused to do. This happened about 5 weeks ago, and I guess must have been proposed by the Duke of Richelieu to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick whilst he was treating about the Païs de Halberstadt.

His Prussian Majesty said at the same time he earnestly wished that the winter was employed in endeavouring to make an honourable peace; he did not know how the war was to be carried on next year, especially as we made no diversion any where, and were unfortunate and unsuccessful every where.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Mitchell.

Newcastle House, Decr. 8, 1757.

DEAR SIR,

It is a felicity, peculiar to the King of Prussia, to have the news of a second glorious victory arrive,[9] before the officer, who brought that of the former one,

[9] It would seem from this letter of the Duke of Newcastle of the 8th Decr., and the letter that follows it from Mitchell of the 9th Decr., that the news of the battle of Leuthen reached London a day sooner than it reached Leipsic.

could even have time to get away from hence. But victories, fresh and fresh, every day, are to be expected from his unexampled ability, conduct, sagacity, and courage; and the ardour and bravery of his troops. This last great action, (of which the news came this morning, and with which I had the happiness to acquaint his officer, Major Grant, the first), was not necessary to gain the respect, the affection, and the support, of the King and all his subjects: that was sufficiently done by the entire defeat of the French army under the Prince de Soubise. This great stroke upon the Austrians, will shew the world that no power, and no troops, are able to resist him. But all that I can say, must fall short of what the King has said himself, under his own hand to the King of Prussia; which I took the liberty to tell the King, was a full instruction for all his servants, and upon that plan we shall act.

Prince Ferdinand, at the head of above 40,000 men, most excellent troops, full of ardour and zeal, will, I hope, soon be able to give a good account of Marshal Richelieu's army. And what a prospect have we of a most glorious end of a war, which for some time has had a most melancholly appearance? If the French are forced to repass the Weser, and, as it were, drove out of Germany, at the same time that the Queen of Hungary is forced back from all quarters into Bohemia, what may we not hope for?

There never was such a successfull, and such an unanimous, opening of a session of Parliament, as this

has been. The business is, as it were, done already. Everybody agrees to support the King of Prussia with a large subsidy; and to pay the whole charge and expence of the army of observation, from the day they came into activity. And towards that I have already been offered near six millions; though I hope we shall not have occasion for near that sum, by way of loan; for we shall have upwards of two millions from our sinking fund, besides the land, and malt. And all this money will be borrowed, (if necessary), something under $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; and cannot fill their subscriptions. In the midst of our misfortunes, this is a good circumstance; and, I hope, will enable us to get out of them.

The King has very rightly flung out a hint about the republick of Holland. If we could get them to act, in the least degree, for their own honour and safety, it would be a great point, encourage us here, and greatly distress France. For that purpose I am constantly writing, and pressing my friend Colonel Yorke, at the Hague.

We have had it under consideration in what manner the subsidy of four millions of crowns to the King of Prussia should be given. My opinion is, (and the King, and my colleagues all agree in it), that there should be a short *convention*, (though I detest the word *convention*), in which there should be general assurances of mutual support, and a particular engagement, of both parties, in all their *capacities, as King, and Elector*, not to make a separate peace. This will secure us from all future

apprehensions, and suspicions, of separate negociations; and encourage us to act jointly, both for war and peace; which concert was the object of my first letter to you, and continues to be so. It would be very happy for both parties, if the successes, and the favorable appearances on our side at present, should induce the powers at war to come to honourable and reasonable terms of peace. *That*, I think, you should not lose sight of; and I should be glad to know the King of Prussia's thoughts particularly upon it.

I have received, at the time of the arrival of the several messengers, your letters of the 15th and 24th of October, and of the 1st, 6th, and 11th of November, in answer to mine of the 16th of July, and 15th of September. I am very glad to find you had no particular reason for your silence. I was always sure I had not given you any the least occasion for it.

As to the time of payment of the subsidy, I shall be ready to pay it at such terms as may make it the most useful to the King of Prussia. And though it is the greatest subsidy that ever was given from hence to any one power, none ever was more chearfully given, or, in my humble opinion, better employed or deserved. The manner of payment, or remittance, must be left to us, according to the constant rules observed in these cases; but as I detest (as I do) a job, and will not suffer any to be made, whilst I am in the Treasury; and as I am very desirous that the King of Prussia should have as great benefit from it as can possibly be obtained for him, you may be assured that care shall

be taken to have the subsidy remitted to his Prussian Majesty, or his use, upon the best and most advantageous terms for him.

Lord Holdernesse, I believe, will send a sketch of a convention for the King of Prussia's approbation, which may (if approved) be immediately signed by you, in virtue of the general full power, which I suppose you have.

As the King of Prussia has gained immortal honor to himself, and has revived the spirits of all those languid powers who only *wished* well to the Protestant interest and the common cause ; I hope this country will have some merit in the noble support, which will be given to Continent measures by such a subsidy to such a prince, and by such an army maintained at present solely at the expense of Great Britain.

These measures, though expensive, I rejoice to concur in. There is safety and sound politicks in them, and these are the only, or, at least, the most likely ones to bring us to our grand object, a solid peace : for these immense expenses cannot be long supported any where, and peace must soon become the object of all parties.

The King has ordered me to return you thanks for your great politeness and civility to Count Shulembourg. He has done you ample justice, and has wrote the prettiest letter upon the subject which I have seen.

I hope you are satisfied with my friend, the *brave* Mr. Munchhausen, whose journey from hence has done immense good.

As to your bills of extraordinarys for journeys, campaigns, &c., I have told your friend, Lord Holdernesse, from the beginning, that nothing should be wanting on my part. The moment he sends them to me, they shall be dispatched. I shall always be glad to hear from you. If, at any time, you should want to put any thing in cypher, pray do it, and I will get it decyphered at my Lord Holdernesse's office.

Your friend the Dutchess of Newcastle sends her best compliments to you; you make her very happy with the good news you send. She is the strongest Prussian in England. She flatters herself that the rapidity of these astonishing successes will put the world in mind of her grandfather, the Duke of Marlborough. According to our English custom, we drink the King of Prussia's health, and further success, every day.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

Holles Newcastle.

P.S. I have got Grant, who pleases extreamly here, a second five hundred pounds.

P.S. Since writing my letter, I find that you have not sufficient full power with you, and therefore my Lord Holdernesse does not send a draught of a convention, but you may (I suppose) expect one soon; in the mean time, you will see by my Lord Holdernesse's letters what are his Majesty's thoughts, and, by this letter, how readily I shall concur in the subsidy proposed by the King of Prussia, which should be finished

and settled as soon as possible, and, to be sure, you may acquaint the King of Prussia that he may depend upon it.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Friday, 9th Dec., 1757.

My Lord,

This moment a chasseur has arrived from Silesia with the news of a compleat victory obtained by his Prussian Majesty, on the 5th, between Neumarket and Lissa. I send your Lordship a copy of the King of Prussia's letter to Monsieur Eichel, who was left behind at Glogau.

We expect every moment a full relation of this glorious action, which I shall transmit by a messenger. In the meantime I have ventured this by an estaffette to Holland, in hopes to catch the packet of next Tuesday.

In case this letter should be stopped I have prevailed with a Jew to write to his correspondent at the Hague a letter in Hebrew, which contains further particulars taken from a letter of Monsieur Eichel, dated at Glogau, the 6th inst., which he is directed forthwith to communicate to Colonel Yorke.

The chasseur was present in and despatched from the field of battle, on the 5th, before six in the evening.

The action on the 22nd November was favourable for the Prussians, but a pannick having seized some of the Generals, they lost the advantages they had gained, and Breslaw was shamefully surrendered. There are

three Generals in arrest at Glogau for their misconduct. The loss of the Austrians on the 22nd was prodigious ; what it is in the action of the 5th, we do not certainly know.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

9th December, in the afternoon.

P.S.—I intended to have sent this letter by the estaffette to Holland of this morning, but having consulted with my faithfull Jew, he advised me not to risk it, as the estaffette might (if the letter was opened) thereby have been hindered to proceed. I therefore wrote a short note to Colonel Yorke which was translated into Hebrew, together with the King of Prussia's letter, and forwarded immediately to Holland.

I have wrote by this estaffette to Prince Ferdinand and to President Munchausen.

Last night I had the honour of your Lordship's of the 22nd November, by post. The commands it contained are already obeyed.

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Sunday, 11th Dec., 1757.

MY LORD,

Last Friday, after I had despatched the estaffette to Holland and to Hambourg, one of the King of Prussia's pages (who was despatched from Lissa the 5th, just after the battle, but being directed

to go by Berlin and Magdebourg), arrived here eleven hours later than the chasseur who brought the first news. The particulars the page mentions of that glorious action agree perfectly well with what the chasseur told me, but I cannot venture to make out a relation from the imperfect accounts they give.

I inclose to your Lordship two letters I received by the King of Prussia's page, and as we have yet no further accounts from his Prussian Majesty, I shall only add that, in a letter of the 5th from Lissa, to his brother Prince Henry, he says that he had then 8m prisoners, many standards, colours, and cannon, that he had attacked with his right, *et qu'il avoit refusé sa gauche*, which had succeeded perfectly well, *parce qu'il avoit tourné l'ennemi.*

There is yet no satisfactory account of the unfortunate action of the 22nd November, nor of the taking of Breslaw. I send your Lordship an extract of a letter from Magdebourg of the 5th, which gives some light into those affairs.

I find, likewise, there are some murmurings about the surrender of *Schweidnitz*, but, as the unsuccessful are often wrongfully blamed, till I am better informed, I will say nothing of that matter.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S. This day the *Te Deum* was sung in the churches here for the victory of the 5th.

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Friday, 16th Dec., 1757.

My Lord,

On the 7th November I sent your Lordship by post a full account of the glorious victory obtained by his Prussian Majesty over the French and the army of the Empire the 5th of that month, near Weisenfels.

Since his Prussian Majesty went into Silesia, I did not think it necessary to write to your Lordship, as you are nearer the scene of action, and, indeed, it has not been in my power to give any distinct account of the late great action of the 5th December near Lissa; we had the first news of it here six days ago, but have not received any detail of the action.

By the last letters from Hambourg of the 10th, the Hanoverian troops, under the command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had gained some advantages over the French. The Castle of Harbourg is besieged by the Hanoverians, and their army is advancing towards the French, who, it is said, have evacuated *Zell*, and were retiring to cover their magazin at *Gifforn*. The armies are so near, that I expect every moment the news of a battle.

The following particulars of the late glorious victory near Lissa may be depended on. They are taken from a private letter of one who, by his station, must be well informed. The letter is dated the 10th instant, before Breslaw, and says that the King of Prussia had then 22m prisoners, of whom 183 officers; 2m wounded

prisoners, 168 cannon, 43 colors and standards, 3m baggage and artillery waggons; that General Zeithen still continued the pursuit, and sent in daily many prisoners and artillery; the loss of the Prussians in killed and wounded does not amount to 4m, and Breslaw must soon surrender, in which there are 10m, including the wounded and sick. What I write is almost incredible, but two miracles in the space of one month, two victories gained by the same handfull of men (for the Prussian army, in the first action of the 5th of November, did not exceed 18m, and in the last, of the 5th December, might be from 30 to 35m), have, I hope, restored affairs to a situation I never expected to see them in.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Saturday, 17th Dec., 1757.

MY LORD,

We have yet no *relation* of the victory of victories; but there are letters of the 10th from the King of Prussia, which say that he expected soon to be master of Breslaw, and of the garrison and wounded in town, amounting together to ten thousand men. He computes the loss of the Austrians at about 30m; and this computation will appear very moderate after reading what follows, which is taken from private letters of good authority, dated 7th, 8th, and 10th of this month, from the Prussian camp before Breslaw.

The King lay at *Lissa* the 5th, and advanced towards Breslaw the 6th; Lieutenant-General Zeithen was dispatched with the dragoons, hussars, and some infantry in pursuit of the enemy, who were retiring towards Schweidnitz; and such has been the conduct and success of that great officer, that on the 10th there were in the Prussian camp no less than 20m prisoners; (another letter says 22m, and a third 24m, including the wounded) amongst which there are 2 generals and 183 officers, many of them field officers.

Three thousand baggage and ammunition waggons were already brought in, and 168 pieces of cannon, 43 colours and standards taken. General Zeithen continued the pursuit, and sent in daily prisoners and artillery.

All the letters agree that the whole Austrian army of 80m was in the field, and by the best computation I can make, the Prussian army might be from 30m to 35m strong.

So great was the pannick and consternation in the Austrian army during the pursuit that a cornet of hussars with 100 men brought in 1000 prisoners. The King of Prussia immediately gave him the *Croix de Merite* and a troop of hussars.

Some of the letters mention that General O'Donel is dangerously wounded and a prisoner, that General Luchesi was killed, and so great is the ardour of the Prussian soldiers, that they can hardly be restrained from attempting to scale the walls of Breslaw.

These are all the particulars I have yet been able to

gather of this most glorious, most decisive, and most fortunate day, which I choose to transmit to your Lordship without exaggeration, and without guessing at further consequences.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Monday, 19th Dec., 1757.

MY LORD,

Yesterday I received a letter from the King of Prussia with a copy of his relation of the late most glorious battle of the 8th, and of the consequences of it to the 12th instant; also a copy of his letter to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, which I make no doubt will answer the end proposed, and prevent the French from putting into execution the horrid threatenings they have thrown out against Hanover. It will operate the more powerfully that I hear their army are retiring very fast, and if reports may be credited (for I have no letter from Prince Ferdinand since the 12th from *Robertow*) have abandoned Zell. Their out parties likewise seem to be discomfited; t'other day 150 French surrendered to a Prussian party without firing a shot; this happened within two miles from *Halberstadt*.

I solicit Prince Henry daily to continue the diversion on the side of *Halberstadt*, which has had an effect beyond what could have been imagined, and his Royal Highness has given me the strongest assurances that nothing shall be wanting on his part.

The many letters I have wrote to your Lordship since the 9th instant contain all the particulars I have yet heard concerning the most important victory of the 5th, but having obtained a copy of a private letter of the 7th, which may be depended on, I transmit it to your Lordship, persuaded you will not grudge the trouble of having it translated.

The field of battle near Lissa is quite a plain ground, in some part of which there are bushes and underwood ; the Austrians had passed the *Weistritz* or *Schweidnitz Wasser*, a small river which falls into the Oder about two miles below Breslaw, and they repassed upon five different bridges immediately after the action, when the King of Prussia took possession of *Lissa*, and this is the first time the Austrians have ventured to look the Prussians in the face in a plain, though even here they were well posted.

It is the opinion of several officers that have served in Silesia, and are well acquainted with the country, that the remains of the Austrian army will divide, that one part will attempt to pass into *Bohemia* through the country of Glatz, whilst the other goes by *Ottmuchau*, *Neustadt*, and *Jargrendorf* into Moravia. The reason they give for this is probable, that the defiles in the mountains are difficult at all times, but at present must be almost impracticable, so that it would require many days to pass any number of men together through those defiles. They, therefore, think the army will separate into two or more corps to accelerate their passage ; for they are unanimously of opinion, that the Austrian

army can no longer maintain itself in Silesia, and some of them give very plausible reasons that even *Schweidnitz* must fall into the King of Prussia's hands.

We have had a fall of snow for some days past, which, in the mountains, must be terrible; but the weather has been remarkably mild from the middle of October to the 14th instant, by which the King of Prussia has been enabled to do the wonders he has done. Had the season been as rigourous as it was last year neither his Prussian Majesty nor Prince Ferdinand could have kept the field.

I inclose to your Lordship duplicates of my three last letters by post, in case the originals should have miscarried.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Monday, 19th Decr., 1757.

MY LORD,

I have had some suspicion that Prince Henry is paving the way to a negociation with France without the knowledge of the King his brother.

This Prince is very vain and hates his brother, of whose greatness he is jealous; at the same time he has talents, but more cunning than real parts, and is French to the bone.

I live well with him, but have carefully watched him. He owned to me, the other day, that he had taken upon

himself to release Monsieur Martinfort, *Commissaire des Vivres* to Soubise's army, taken at the battle of the 5th November; the pretence for releasing him is that Martinfort has no rank in the army, and therefore cannot be exchanged; that he will prevail with the Prince of Soubise to release in his room a Prussian counsellor who was carried off as a hostage by the French.

I know the Prince's way of thinking; ambition is his only principle. He imagined (looking upon the state of the King of Prussia's affairs as desperate) that he should have the glory of making peace; for this purpose he began first to show a most enormous partiality to the French officers, and to hold frequent and long conferences with Martinfort, who is a shrewd, sensible man, and I am convinced that the Prince flatters himself that he shall bring about something by his means.

I am the less concerned about what has happened, that I believe when the King of Prussia makes peace he will consult his brother Henry, nor do I think that the King of Prussia will approve of his conduct here in many respects; but I judge it necessary to give your Lordship these hints that Martinfort may be properly watched at Paris. I shall give your Lordship notice so soon as he sets out, and I shall continue to look after the Prince with all possible attention.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

My Lord, *Leipzig, 19th December, 1757.*

De Republica nunquam est desperandum is a maxim never to be forgot, but I must fairly own to your Grace that I never was so near departing from it, as when I wrote to your Grace the 5th, nor indeed was there ever more reason to despair. Thank heaven, the King of Prussia's conduct and intrepidity has given a happy turn to affairs, which I hope your Grace's prudence will be able to improve for the interest of your country. I do not trouble your Grace with a detail of particulars almost incredible, as I have given that fully in my public letters, and still more authentically by the King of Prussia's own relation which goes by this messenger.

The King of Prussia has done the only right thing he had to do; had he failed he was undone; had he gone into winter quarters before this battle, it is my opinion Silesia would have been lost, and he could have brought an army into the field with difficulty next campaign.

But what could induce the Austrian generals (who had Breslaw and Schweidnitz, two strong places, within seven German miles of each other) to venture a battle, I cannot guess, unless it be that spirit of presumption and self-sufficiency with which they have long been blessed.

I most sincerely wish your Grace many years, and that you may be able to restore to your country, by wise,

vigorous, and active measures, that dignity and influence she once had, and to crown all with a speedy, honourable, and safe peace.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, 24th December, 1757.

MY LORD,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that last night an officer arrived from the King of Prussia's army with the news that Breslaw had surrendered on the 20th in the morning; that the garrison, consisting of 13 or 14 general officers, and 10m men bearing arms, besides between 3 or 4m sick and wounded, were made prisoners of war.

As the officer set out before the King made his entry into Breslaw he does not know the names of the generals that are made prisoners, but he tells me the Prussians lost only 20 men in the approaches they made to Breslaw. That on the night of the 14th a magazine of powder was set on fire by a bomb, which occasioned great confusion among the besieged, and greatly damaged one of the bastions.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, 25th December, 1757.

My Lord,

I am uneasy at having no letter from Prince Ferdinand since the 12th. I still flatter myself I shall hear from him before I set out for Silesia.

I have now a journey of 300 English miles to make in very severe weather, and very bad roads, but I am advised to go by Berlin, which lengthens the journey about one-third.

For God's sake, my Lord, be quick, explicit, and decisive in the resolutions you take; you know the character of my hero, and the late glorious successes will not have added to his stock of patience.

Major Marwitz of the Gens d'Armes, whom the King of Prussia has sent into England, is a very brave, good officer. I beg leave to recommend him to your protection. He did not pass this way; some attention and civilities on your part will make him yours.

I most heartily wish you the compliments of the season, and beg leave to offer my compliments to Lady Holdernesse.

I am, &c.

And^R. Mitchell.

P.S.—I send your Lordship by this courier the best maps of Silesia, which will probably be the scene of action for some time. The map of Bohemia you desired some months ago could not, at that time, be found for any money; now it may be had more easily if you think it worth while.

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leipzig, Sunday, 25th Dec., 1757.

My Lord,

I send your Lordship a copy of a letter I had from the King of Prussia after the taking of Breslaw, also the journal of siege, and the names of the Austrian Generals that are made prisoners, which has been received since.

His Royal Highness Prince Henry has been pleased to give me a plan of the battle of Rosbach, of the 5th November, which he desires me to transmit for his Majesty's use, together with his most respectful compliments to the King.

So soon as I arrive at Breslaw I shall endeavour to get a plan of the battle of Lissa (Leuthen),[1] and to

[1] As this battle (Leuthen, or Lissa, as it was sometimes called) has been pronounced, by a high authority (Napoleon), a masterpiece, and of itself sufficient to entitle Frederic to a place in the first rank among generals, it will be proper to give here Frederic's own account of it :—

"Dans ces conjonctures le temps étoit ce qu'il y avoit de plus précieux ; il n'y avoit point de moment à perdre ; il falloit ou attaquer incessamment les Autrichiens à tout prix, et les mettre hors de la Silésie, ou se résoudre à perdre cette province pour jamais. L'armée qui repassa l'Oder à Glogau, ne put joindre les troupes du Roi que le 2 de Décembre ; cette armée étoit découragée et dans l'accablement d'une défaite récente. On prit les officiers par le point d'honneur ; on leur rappela le souvenir de leurs anciens exploits ; on tâcha de dissiper les idées tristes dont l'impression étoit fraîche ; le vin fut même une ressource pour ranimer ces esprits abattus. Le Roi parla aux soldats ; il leur fit distribuer des vivres gratis. Enfin on épuisa tous les moyens que l'imagination pouvoit fournir, et que le temps permettoit, pour réveiller dans les troupes cette confiance sans laquelle l'espérance de la victoire est vaine. Déjà les physionomies commençoient à s'éclaircir, et ceux que venoient de battre les François à Rosbach, persuadèrent à leurs compagnons de prendre bon courage. . . . . Des nouvelles positives arrivèrent alors au Roi, par lesquelles il apprit que le Prince de Lorraine avoit quitté le

be fully informed of every circumstance relating to it, for it certainly is one of the most extraordinary events that ever happened in war.

camp de la Lohe, et s'étoit avancé au delà de Lissa; que son armée avoit sa droite appuyée au village de Nypern, sa gauche à Golau, et à dos le petit ruisseau de Schweidnitz. Le Roi se réjouit de trouver l'ennemi dans une position que facilitoit son entreprise; car il étoit obligé et résolu d'attaquer les Autrichiens partout où il les trouveroit, fût-ce même au Zobtenberg. On travailla d'abord à la disposition de la marche, et l'armée se mit en mouvement le 5 avant l'aube du jour; elle étoit précédée par une avant-garde de 60 escadrons et de 10 bataillons, à la tête de laquelle le Roi s'étoit mis en personne; les quatre colonnes de l'armée la suivoient à une petite distance; l'infanterie formoit celles du centre, et celles des ailes étoient composées de cavalerie. L'avant-garde en approchant du village de Born découvrit une grande ligne de cavalerie, dont la droite tiroit vers Lissa, et dont la gauche qui étoit plus avancée s'appuyoit à un bois que l'armée du Roi avoit à sa droite. On crut d'abord que c'étoit une aile de l'armée autrichienne dont on ne découvroit pas le centre; ceux qui en firent la reconnoissance, assurèrent que c'étoit une avant-garde; on apprit même qu'elle étoit commandée par le Général Nostitz, et que le corps consistoit en quatre régimens de dragons saxons, et deux de housards impériaux; pour jouer à jeu sûr, on fit glisser les 10 bataillons dans le bois qui couvroit le flanc gauche de Mr. de Nostitz; sur quoi la cavalerie prussienne, qui s'étoit formée, fondit dessus avec beaucoup de vivacité; dans un moment ces régimens furent dissipés, et poursuivis jusques devant le front de l'armée autrichienne; on leur prit 5 officiers et 800 hommes, qu'on renvoya le long des colonnes à Neumarkt, pour animer le soldat par l'exemple de ce succès. Le Roi eut de la peine à contenir la fougue des housards, que leur ardeur transportoit; ils étoient sur le point de donner au milieu de l'armée autrichienne, lorsqu'on les rassembla entre les villages de Heyde et de Frobelvitz à une portée de canon de l'ennemi; on distinguoit si bien de là l'armée impériale, qu'on auroit pu la compter homme par homme; sa droite, qu'on savoit à Nypern, étoit cachée par le grand bois de Lissa: mais du centre jusqu'à la gauche rien n'échappoit à la vue. A la première inspection de ces troupes et d'après le terrain on jugea qu'il falloit porter les grands coups à l'aile gauche de cette armée: elle étoit étendue sur un tertre chargé de sapins, mais mal appuyée; ce poste forcé, on gagnoit l'avantage du terrain pour le reste de la bataille, parceque de là il va toujours en descendant et en s'abaissant vers Nypern au lieu qu'en s'attachant au centre les troupes de l'aile droite autrichienne auroient pu, en traversant le bois de Lissa, tomber en flanc sur les assaillans; et après tout il auroit toujours fallu finir par l'attaque de ce tertre, qui dominoit sur toute cette plaine. C'auroit été reserver la besogne la plus dure et la plus difficile pour la fin, où les troupes harassées, et fatiguées du combat, ne sont plus propres aux grands efforts; au lieu qu'en commençant par l'operation la plus rude, on profitoit de la première

As I propose to set out in two days from hence, your Lordship will be pleased to order the messengers to go

ardeur du soldat, et le reste de l'ouvrage devenoit aisé. Par une suite de ces raisons on disposa incessamment l'armée pour l'attaque de la gauche. Les colonnes qui étoient dans l'ordre du déploiement furent renversées; on les mit sur deux lignes, et les pelotons par quart de conversion se mirent à défiler par la droite : le Roi avec ses housards côtoya la marche de son armée sur une chaîne de tertres qui cachoit à l'ennemi les mouvemens qui se faisoient derrière : et se trouvant entre les deux armées, il observoit celle des Autrichiens, et dirigeoit la marche de la sienne. Il envoya des officiers de confiance, les uns pour observer la droite du Maréchal Daun, les autres vers Canth pour veiller aux démarches de Mr. de Draskowitz, qui y avoit son camp; on reconnut en même temps l'ennemi le long du ruisseau de Schweidnitz, pour être sûr qu'il ne pût rien venir à dos lorsque l'armée engageroit le combat. Le projet que le Roi se preparoit d'executer, étoit de porter toute son armée sur le flanc gauche des impériaux, de faire les plus grands efforts avec sa droite, et de refuser sa gauche avec tant de prévoyance, qu'il n'eût point à craindre des fautes semblables à celles qu'on avoit faites à la bataille de Prague et qui avoient causé la perte de celle de Kolin. Déjà Mr. de Wedel, qui devoit avec ses 10 bataillons de l'avant-garde former la première attaque, s'étoit rendu devant l'armée; déjà les têtes des colonnes avoient gagné le ruisseau de Schweidnitz, sans que l'ennemi s'en fût apperçu. Le Maréchal Daun prit le mouvement des Prussiens pour une retraite, et dit au Prince de Lorraine : *ces gens s'en vont, laissons-les faire.* Cependant Mr. de Wedel s'étoit formé devant les deux lignes d'infanterie de la droite; son attaque étoit soutenue par une batterie de 20 pièces de 12 livres, dont le Roi avoit dépouillé les ramparts de Glogau. La première ligne reçut ordre d'avancer en échelons, les bataillons à 50 pas de distance en arrière les uns des autres, de sorte que la ligne étant en mouvement, l'extrémité de la droite se trouvoit de mille pas plus avancée que l'extrémité de la gauche, et cette disposition la mit dans l'impossibilité de s'engager sans ordre. Sur cela Mr. de Wedel attaqua le bois où commandoit Mr. Nadasti; il n'y trouva pas grande résistance, et l'importa assez vîte. Les généraux autrichiens se voyant tournés et pris en flanc, essayèrent de changer de position; ils voulurent, mais trop tard, former une ligne parallèle au front des Prussiens; tout l'art des généraux du Roi fut employé à ne leur en pas donner le temps. Les Prussiens s'établissoient déjà sur une hauteur qui commande le village de Leuthen : dans l'instant où l'ennemi voulut y jeter de l'infanterie, une seconde batterie de 20 pièces de 12 livres tira sur eux si fort à propos, qu'ils en perdirent l'envie et se retirèrent. Du côté de Mr. de Wedel les Autrichiens se saisirent d'une butte voisine du ruisseau, pour l'empêcher de balayer leur ligne d'une aile à l'autre; Mr. de Wedel ne les y suffrit pas long-temps, et après un combat plus long et plus opiniâtre que le précédent, ils furent forcés à céder le terrain. Mr. de Ziethen en même temps chargea la cavalerie ennemie et la mit en déroute; quelques escadrons de sa droite reçurent en flanc, des broussailles qui bordoient le

by Magdebourg, where they will receive directions from Count Podewils how to proceed with the greatest safety, and I have wrote to the Count for that purpose. I have now no messenger with me, but expect soon to have one with dispatches from your Lordship.

I am, &c.,

AND^R. MITCHELL.

ruisseau, une décharge à mitraille. Ce feu partant à l'improviste, les ramena, et ils se réformèrent auprès de l'infanterie. Les officiers qui avoient en la commission d'observer la droite du Maréchal Daun, vinrent alors avertir le Roi qu'elle traversoit le bois de Lissa, et alloit paroître incessamment dans la plaine ; sur quoi Mr. de Driesen reçut ordre d'avancer avec l'aile gauche de la cavalerie prussienne. Lorsque les cuirassiers autrichiens commencèrent à se former près de Leuthen, la batterie du centre de l'armée du Roi les salua par une décharge de toute son artillerie ; Mr. de Driesen en même temps les attaqua ; la mêlée ne fut pas longue ; les impériaux furent dispersés et s'enfuirent à vau-de-route. Une ligne d'infanterie qui s'étoit formée à côté de ces cuirassiers derrière Leuthen, fut prise en flanc par le régiment de Bareuth, qui la rejetant sur les voluntaires de Wunsch, en prit deux régimens entiers avec officiers et drapeaux. Alors la cavalerie ennemie étant tout à fait dissipée, le Roi fit avancer le centre de son infanterie sur Leuthen. Le feu fut vif et court, parce que l'infanterie autrichienne n'étoit qu'éparpillée entre les maisons et les jardins ; au déboucher du village, on apperçut une nouvelle ligne d'infanterie que les généraux autrichiens formoient sur une éminence près du moulin à vent de Ségeschutz. L'armée du Roi eut quelque temps à souffrir de leur feu ; mais les ennemis ne s'étoient pas apperçus dans cette confusion que le corps de Mr. de Wedel étoit dans leur voisinage ; ils furent tout à coup pris en flanc et à dos par ce brave et habile Général, et sa belle manœuvre, en fixant la victoire, termina cette importante journée. Le Roi rammassant les premières troupes qui se présentèrent, se mit à la poursuite des ennemis avec les cuirassiers de Seidlitz & un bataillon de Jung-Stutterheim ; il s'avança dirigeant sa marche entre le ruisseau de Schweidnitz et le bois de Lissa. L'obscurité devint si grande, qu'il poussa quelques cavaliers en avant pour reconnoître les forêts, et pour donner des nouvelles."—*Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans*, tom. i., pp. 232—241.

CHAPTER IX.

JOURNAL.—1757.

THIS and the eleventh chapter are printed *verbatim* from Mr. Mitchell's MS., at least from a carefully made copy of it. Any blanks that may be found are the same in the original.

Wednesday, 20th April.—The King left his quarters at Lockwitz, lay that night at Ottendorff.

The army assembled next day, 21st, and encamped between Ottendorff and Cotta, *en bandière.* King lay at Ottendorff.

Friday, 22nd.—Army marched; the King passed near Peterswald, leaving it to the left, and encamped that night at Nellendorff: the camp formed a crescent. I came into the camp after the fires were lighted, and just before the night gun was fired.

The order of the march was this: Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick commanded the advanced guard, which consisted of 10 batalions infantry and 15 squadrons horse dragoons and hussars. The King followed to sustain the advanced guard; he had with him seven batalions infantry and three squadrons horse.

The rest of the army was divided into two columns ; they marched by Shonewald to Nellendorff, each column consisted of ten batalions, the first was commanded by Marechal Keith, the second by the Prince of Prussia ; the road from Ottendorff to Nellendorff, some part of it very bad and hilly.

Saturday, 23*rd*.—I went along with the first column part of the way, but came into Lenai with the second, as Prince of Prussia desired me.

As the army came down into the valley below Nellendorff, we heard firing of cannon in the mountains, a little to the left as we marched through the plain, which was judged to be the attack which the King had ordered Major-General Zastrow to make upon the little town of Aussig, which stands in a bottom near the Elbe ; the Austrians retired from it. The roads through this vale, by *Carwitz* to *Lenai*, were much broke and deep. The army arrived in camp about 2 afternoon ; the march began about 5 in the morning. The camp was formed in the heights of *Lenai*, the King had his quarter in the village of Lenai below ; the form of encampment humored the ground.

The advanced guard gave notice that there were 10 or 11 batalions and 2 regiments of dragoons in possession of the strong pass called *Pascopal*. The King went to reconnoitre, and intended to have attacked them that afternoon, but, for what reason I know not, the order was countermanded, and the men ordered to be ready about midnight. Soon after came in deserters

that gave notice the Austrians were retired towards Budin.

Nota.—The King had notice that the corps of troops commanded by the Duke of Bevern, about 13m (thousand), had attacked a body of Austrians consisting of 11 regiments * * cavalry; they were entrenched. The Prussians fired the entrenchment and a *redout* they had made without their entrenchment; 1000 Austrians killed and 500 prisoners. The loss of the Prussians inconsiderable, five subaltern officers killed. Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg pierced the Austrian cavalry and took 3 standards. The same day there was news from Prince Moritz of Dessau, that he had taken *Commettau.*

Sunday, 24th.—The army halted at Lenai all that day; part of the cavalry came up and encamped in the valley near the King's quarter; they were commanded by Lieut.-General *Kiau.* Prince Moritz arrived in the afternoon with his corps, and encamped a little to the right of the cavalry.

Nota.—Marechal Schwerin entered Bohemia, by Trotenau, on Monday, the 18th; Duke of Bevern entered by Richenberg, the 19th, and Prince Moritz by *Commettau,* the 20th. Prince Moritz, corps is 18m, and the King entered Bohemia the 21st.

By some conversation I had, A. the King's army, when joined with that of Prince Moritz, is 60m strong, besides three batalions of irregulars, and that of Marechal Schwerin, when joined with the Duke of Bevern, is 64m. The King chuses to give his numbers

less than they really are, and reckons his army only at 52m. The distance from Nellendorff to Lenai is two German miles.

Monday, 25th. — Marched at 4 o'clock in the morning ; I attended the King, who led the advanced guard, which was reinforced with some batalions. The advanced guard passed to the left of the Pascopal ; we heard some firing before we arrived at *Velmina.* The King rode off to the left, on the rising grounds, to see where the firing was ; we came within sight of the river. I took the liberty humbly to represent to his Majesty the danger of his going off so unattended, &c. &c., but not till after he was returning. He was not displeased with what I took the liberty to say. We heard afterwards that this firing came from the other side of the Elbe, and that the pandours had shot Major-General Zastrow, who commanded two batalions that were sent to clear *les bords* of that river. They likewise killed many of the horses belonging to that party.

Soon after we leave *Velmina* you begin to see the plain, and in entering into it his Majesty was so good to describe the position of his troops and that of the enemy at the battle of *Lobositz.*

We arrived in the plain of Lobositz or Budin, about 9 o'clock. I rode on with his Majesty, who viewed the ground and marked out the encampment, and I dined with the King at his quarter, Tschuwitz, after being 13 hours on horseback. The King mounted again at 6 o'clock, and I was told went to *Hagensberg,*

a hill to the right of his camp, which he occupied with hussars and a batalion of irregulars, and returned to his quarters at 10 o'clock, so he was 17 hours on horseback that day. I was quartered with a guard at Sulkowitz, but my bagage being unpacked, &c., I lay at Schelcowitz, near Marechal Keith's quarters.

Tuesday, 26*th*.—The King having given orders to Prince Moritz to bring up his corps with expedition, they arrived this morning about ten o'clock, and the artillery and pontoons in the afternoon. Reports from Budin that the Austrian army is increasing. King resolves to march at 11 o'clock this night (the bagage to be sent to *Trebnitz*) to attempt the passage of the Eger. By the best account I can have of strength of the army, after the junction with Prince Moritz, it is full 60_{m}, besides three batalions of irregulars. The cavalry, dragoons and hussars, make about 14m.

The army marched accordingly at 11 o'clock ; the advanced guard, with the pontoons, set out half after 7 o'clock, and was commanded by Prince Moritz. I joined the first column of the army, which was commanded by Marechal Keith, and the King marched with this column ; second column was commanded by the Prince of Prussia.

Wednesday, 27*th*.—The army marched all night. The King expected that the passage of the Eger would have been opposed, but hearing no firing he concluded that the Austrians had left Budin.

The first column arrived before 5 in the morning

at the river side, but the advanced guard had not finished their bridge; about one half of it was joined, it consisted of 18 pontoons. They had on their first arrival thrown over, in boats, some grenadiers into the meadows on the other side. So soon as the first bridge was finished they immediately began another, which joined to the first, and the troops passed with expedition. This second bridge was finished about 8 o'clock, and all the infantry and cavalry passed, and some part of the bagage, which arrived at 11 o'clock. We came to the place of encampment about 5, afternoon.

The place where this passage was made is at a bow of the river, between *Wolenitz* and *Koschelitz*, about one mile above Budin. The high grounds were on our side of the river, but after passing through the meadows on the other side there was a hill we had to mount, upon which officers said the enemy would have been advantageously posted; we saw nobody but a few that came to *reconnoitre* in the morning, and after our hussars and chasseurs passed, nobody more appeared. The army encamped on the high grounds—the King's quarter was at *Shadonitz*, and I quartered with Marechal Keith at *Patch*, a house belonging to a convent of * *, at Prague. Here the soldiers maroded and plundered, but the great fatigue and long marches made it be winked at.

Thursday, 28*th*.—Army marched before six in the morning, through *Perutz*, *Predohost*, *Karwatetz*, where the King quartered, lay in his tent. I was lodged at

Martinowes. We arrived about 3 o'clock. The grounds are high, and all the way there is an open and extended plain, fertile, and sowed with corn from *Perutz.* Before we came to Perutz we passed a bad *défilé* by the fault of the guides; there is very little wood hereabout; the villages neat, the peasants very poor, the gentlemen's houses are generally in the villages; vast quantity of hares and partridges.

The King told me that he was informed that General Brown knew nothing of his passage of the Eger till 7 o'clock yesterday morning, that the ordinary patroul gave him notice long after the first bridge was finished, that by the disposition that general had made he expected that the passage would have been attempted at Budin, that immediately on the news the signal of firing three cannons was given, and the whole Austrian army [retired] to *Welwarn* in some hurry after destroying as much of their magazine at Budin as they could; however, a considerable quantity has been saved, which will serve, as they say, for five days the whole army. Lieutenant-General *Ziethen* with 6 squadrons of hussars was sent to harrass the rear guard, killed some few and some prisoners. He returned and took possession of the magazine left at *Karwatetz*, and what was at *Martinowes*, and he marched from *Karwatetz* before the army encamped this day to take possession of *Welwarn*, which the King was informed the Austrians had left this morning at 2 o'clock.

The King had notice that Marechal Brown had sent for Prince Charles from Egra, who arrived only yesterday

with 14 regiments, the whole, or part of which, were intended to have joined the French army that was to have besieged *Magdeburg*, of which Prince Charles was to have had the command. The King thinks they will continue to retire towards Prague, and after giving two days' rest to his army he will offer them battle. Marechal Schwerin is expected to-morrow at *Melnich*, *Radnitz*, or *Leitmeritz*. This day I am informed that upwards of 70 horses of the cuirassiers died upon the road ; our forrage is scarce, and the marches long.

Friday, 29*th*.—Army halted, and march to-morrow to *Welwarn*, which was occupied last night with our hussars. This day the King had notice that Marechal Schwerin had taken a great magazin at *Qunj-Buntzel*, and it is reported that a party was advanced to *Brandeis*, within 3 miles of Prague. Marechal Keith and I lay at *Martinowes*, a house belonging to Marechal Brown by his wife Kinski.

Saturday, 30*th April*.—Marched before 4 o'clock in the morning from the King's quarter at *Karwatetz*, which was about 2 English miles higher up the river than Budin. I went the day before with Marechal Keith to view General Brown's camp upon the heights above Budin, which he had occupied. The Marechal did not reckon him above 22m in this camp, but the situation was very strong. Budin stands in a bottom near the river Egra, an isle before it, and a large meadow behind it. The heights begin to rise at about one English mile distance from the town, as I could judge by my eye. The bridge at Budin, which should have been

burnt, was bought by the magistrates, as we were informed.

From *Karwatetz* the army marched in 4 columns; the King himself led the avant-garde; the country fine and fertile, no inclosures, and few trees; sometimes a defilé occasioned by the plain cut with ravins or hollow ways, which often might have been avoided had the guides been more attentive.

All the way of this day's march we found oats spilt upon the road, occasioned, as was supposed, by the sudden march of the Austrians from *Budin*. A good deal of flour and some forrage was found at Budin, Rachin, and *Welwarn*, which last place was said to have been plundered by the Austrian pandours, but I suspect our hussars, who had been there that morning or the night before, had had some share; the people had all run away; there was hardly any body left in this town. In one of the houses I saw a pandour that had been shot by one of our hussars; he had fired out of a window at the hussars. There is a chappel just out of town. We were told that Marechal Brown had heard Mass there the day before with the two Princes of Saxony. Here we were informed that the Austrians had distributed flour, &c., among the peasants, but I saw about 80 barrels of flour in the market place of *Welwarn*, the bottom of the barrels knocked out; much of the flour might be saved. The King's quarter was at *Uha*. I lay in a village near by and had my guard. Welwarn lyes in a bottom, a small poor town. The village of *Uha* is about a quarter of a mile farther on;

here the army encamped in order of the line of battle. I went to the height to see the camp. The cavalry encamped on the flanks.

May, Sunday, 1st.—Left *Uha* about 5 in the morning. King led the avant-garde ; I marched with the first column. Avant-garde consisted of 12 batalions and 52 squadrons, marched in 4 columns, cavalry on the right and left, and the artilery made another column. Marechal Keith told me we should probably have a battle that morning ; but as we advanced one mile and the fogs cleared up, he said there would be nothing that day ; the reason he gave was that a very advantageous high ground before us was unoccupied. He expressed great surprise, and said this conduct of General Brown far exceeded his understanding, but his amazement was still more encreased when we came to *Semiech* and passed on a narrow wooden bridge with a string of ponds to the left and a morass to the right. To the left of the bridge there was about 100 foot of passable and just practicable ground, the rest absolutely impracticable. We entered through a bad defilé into the village of *Semiech*, and I went up into the churchyard with the Marechal. He observed that the walls of the churchyard ought to have been used to our great annoyance as a battery ; and, indeed, if the high grounds had been occupied, the whole passage would have been most difficult if not impracticable. I heard Monsieur Marwitz say that by a detour of two miles this pass might have been avoided. After we leave the village of *Semiech* and

get out of the defilé there is a very fine plain, and after that another defilé which was likewise unoccupied; all the general officers expressed their wonder. The army encamped at *Tursko*, a pleasant village, where we were told Marechal Brown had been 2 or 3 nights, and only left yesterday morning, and Marechal Keith and I occupied the quarters Brown and Prince Louis of Wurtemberg had; the three Princes of Prussia and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic dined with us. Our baggage was left behind, and did not arrive till late, but we made a tolerable shift. After dinner a very heavy shower with some thunder. The fields are fertile and cultivated, little planting; many small round pebles lye upon the ground, and so great quantity of agats, that they build houses and walls with them.

The King lay at *Tuchomierzitz* about three quarters of a mile further on, a convent belonging to the Jesuits, and the greatest part of avant-garde were encamped at *Cziezowitz*, a village about one-eighth of a mile behind *Tuchomierzitz*.

Monday, 2nd May.—Army marched at 5 o'clock. We found the rain of the night before had extended no farther than *Tuchomierzitz*, the road so far was very deep and heavy, a very bad defilé at *Tuchomierzitz*, and several advantageous grounds beyond it; the baggage of the advanced guard and all the lame and unserviceable horses were sent back, and the baggage of the columns was halted at *Tursko* till further order, so that a battle was thought unavoidable; we arrived, however, in perfect good

order, without the least resistance, and passed the *Weisebery* and the convent of *Victoria*, and the army was encamped in the shape of a half-moon, having * * upon the right, and * * upon the left. King's quarter was at * *. I was lodged in the convent of St. Margarite belonging to the Benedictines, within a cannon shot of Prague.

N. The King traced out this camp and all the camps since we left *Lenai*.

Tuesday, 3rd May.—I was obliged to lye a bed the whole day, having a violent head-ach and fever.

Wednesday, 4th.—I dined with the King. He was very hearty and chearful, told me in a day or two the battle of Pharsalia between the Houses of Austria and Brandenbourg would be fought. He put me in mind that he had often told me, that Brown was not the man he had been taken for; now it was plain. News from Marechal Schwerin that Major-General Wartemberg[2] was killed; he had cut to pieces 300 of the rear-guard of Austrians. I rode to the high grounds to see the Austrian camp on the other side of the river, and after that went all through the Prussian camp. As I was on the left I was told the King was marching with the pontoons about 5 in the afternoon; the force he had with him was 20 batalions, and 36 squadrons. He marched to *Seltz* about three quarters of a mile lower down the Oder, and immediately began to throw a bridge over

[2] A very good officer of cavalry; commanded a regiment of hussars.—*Note in Mr. Mitchell's Journal.*

the Moldau. We had news this day that Marechal Schwerin had passed at 4 different places, viz., *Wobrzist Lobkowitz*, *Kosteletz*, and *Brandeis*, in 3 columns, one column passed at two places, and that all the columns were to assemble at *Bachomierzist*. In the evening we observed a motion in Austrian camp, but they were only changing position.

Thursday, 5th.—The bridge at *Seltz* could not be finished till one o'clock this day. In the evening we had news that the troops were passed, that the King and Marechal Schwerin were not joined, but were very near each other, and that as the junction could be made early in the morning, the action might begin by 2 o'clock. I immediately ordered my coach to be ready to go next morning to the bridge at *Seltz* to serve the wounded.

In the afternoon I went to recoinoitre with Marechal Keith and Lieutenant-General Kiau ; we had 50 hussars with us, came within reach of the cannon of Prague from the *Wiseherad*, but none were fired; we saw the town and the Austrian camp plainly, which was extended about half a mile, and very much scattered.

Friday, 6th.—General action begun a little before ten this morning, and ended at half an hour past two. I remained on the hill above the garden of the convent of St. Margaret, with the Prince of Prussia, Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, and Marechal Keith. I observed the Marechal very pensive for some time, but did not then know the reason of it. He perceived that some of our troops had given way, but soon after they renewed the attack and carried every thing before them ; the

Prussian left, commanded by the King, began the attack; the fire of the Austrians was dreadfull, they were so extreamly well posted, which occasioned an officer's saying to me, that it was *plutot une Escalade qu' une Battaille*, and to this is owing the very great number of wounded on our side. I saw the motion of the different corps, as much as the smoak and dust would permit, by the progressive motion of which we judged of the fate of the battle. As the right wing of the Prussians drove the Austrians from the strong post of *Ziscaberg*, much of the infantry on the Austrian left wing threw themselves into Prague.

Saturday, 7th.—They begun to bring in the wounded from the field of battle, the convent of St. Margaret turned into an hospital, proper orders were given by the Marechal, and detachments made, in case the enemy should endeavour to sally out of Prague, as we were informed that upwards of 20 batalions had thrown themselves into the town; the Austrian right wing retired towards the *Zasawa*, their left into Prague and along the *Moldau*, which Prince Moritz had endeavoured to pass before the action, but pontoons were wanting; General Kiau had been detached thither with the cavalry, to pass at this bridge; Prince Moritz, as he could not pass, cannonaded from this side of the river.

I dispatched S. Dony, my servant, with letters to the Duke and to Lord Holdernesse. Letters are dated the 6th.

In the evening Major Grant was sent by the King of

Prussia with letters to the Duke and to the King. I gave him some letters for England. He had orders to pass by Berlin and Brunswick.

Sunday, 8*th*.—The town of Prague having been summoned the day before to surrender, some firing began about mid-day, which grew hotter towards the evening, and still more so in the night.

Marechal Keith ordered the town to be invested on this side the river, Prince Moritz commands to our right, and some redoutes were ordered to be thrown up along the high grounds, the intention of which is to annoy the enemy if they should attempt a *sortie* this way. The infantry are encamped nearest the town, their camps not contiguous, but that of the cavalry, about 400 yards behind, is contiguous, and has the *Deer Garden* and the *Convent Victoria* in their rear. I left convent St. Margaret, quartered in a peasant's house at * *, where the King had his quarter, which is now an hospital.

Monday, 9*th*.—Continue working in the redoubts: this morning we heard great firing from the other side of the river, and I was told that the King had drove the Austrians from a fortress they had upon the *Ziscaberg*. He has begun to fire upon the town, and they say the *Ziscaberg* will be of the greatest advantage to annoy the town.

Between 9 and 10 this morning the army on this side the *Moldau* was drawn out with their cannon before the camp to make a *feu de joye*, which consisted of three rounds, first of the cannon, then of the *Mus-*

quetterie, beginning from the right to the left, then cannon again, and musquetterie, &c. &c.

The same ceremony was probably performed in the army beyond the *Moldau*, as we heard their firing in the same manner about the same time. After this the firing from the town and from the King's army ceased. About 2 afternoon heard some firing of cannons.

I intended to have waited on the King, and had an *escorte* ordered ; but the Prussians having shifted their bridge from *Seltz* to * *, which could not be finished before 11 o'clock, which was too late, I delayed my journey till to-morrow.

Tuesday, 10*th*.—I waited on the King at his quarter at Michele, and had the honour of congratulating him. He appeared in high spirits, but moderate at the same time, in the midst of his great successes. The day before he had drove the Austrians from a redout they possessed upon the brow of the *Ziscaberg*, which is a very steep hill, from which the town in the last war was bombarded. The bridge at *Podbaba* consists of 32 or 34 pontoons. I saw part of the grounds where the action was last Friday ; and by the different accounts and descriptions I heard, the position of the Austrians was as advantageous as possible—the left of the Prussians attacked first. They passed through the village of * *, a defilé where only three men abreast could pass, and two on horseback. They attacked before their first line was quite formed, and the fire of the Austrians was so dreadful that the Prussians retired in absolute confusion, quite broken and *debandés*.

This lasted upwards of a quarter of an hour. The King appeared sensibly affected, and left the height upon which he was (this occasioned the Marechal Schwerin alighting from his horse, and taking the colours : he was killed by a cartridge shot, and, as he fell, was covered by the colours he held in his hand—a glorious death at seventy-four—a great officer and a worthy man : I have heard him frequently compared to Prince Eugene). Then the second line of the Prussian left passed through the defilé, and several officers observed that, had the Austrians charged during this confusion, with some squadrons of horse, not only the first line of the Prussian left would have been ruined, but the second never could have passed the defilé. The Austrians had on their right upwards of 80 squadrons, and had culbuted the Prussian cavalry, who were * * squadrons, but Lieutenant-General Ziethen, with the Prussian hussars, charged them in flank, and they were immediately routed.

The King said that, by the reports of deserters, there must be 50m in Prague. As this garrison is too strong to open the trenches before it, he intends, so soon as the great artillery shall arrive, which will be about the 20th, to bombard the town, and he thinks he shall be able to set fire to their magazins.

Having notice that Marechal Count Leopold Daun was advancing with a corps of 15m, the King has detached the Prince of Bevern, with 14 batalions and 50 squadrons, to offer him battle, and at present his Majesty is busy in making forts and fleches, to

annoy the enemy, if they should attempt a sortie ; not only all the heights are occupied, but small parties are placed in the narrow bottoms which have communication with those on the heights, and the cavalry is placed behind in grounds where they can act.

This victory appears every day to have been more complete than was at first imagined. King said that not above 12m had got together, that the army was dispersed and broke, the greatest part of the baggage of the army was taken, several military chests, all the tents of the Austrian left wing, Marechal Brown, Prince Charles, two Princes of Saxony, and many other persons of distinction, now in Prague. He reckons the Austrians in battle were 85m men ; he said his brother Prince Henry did extreamly well on the right, that to him was owing the success there ; that Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, also, who was on left, went afterwards and flanked the Austrians while they were engaged with our right. That Prince Frank of Brunswic had greatly distinguished himself, and that he would make a great officer ; the Prince of Wurtemberg also distinguished himself. King of Prussia observed that the Austrian irregulars were not so good as formerly, owing to the change of officers, and the discipline of these troops.

In conversation he gave the preference to Prince Charles as a general before Marechal Brown. He said, Prince Charles did ill at Freyberg, but that his disposition at *Soze* was admirable, but his orders were not obeyed ; that the Duke of Aremberg and a general of

cavalry * * had not executed the orders. Marechal Brown wanted to have taken the field by the 9th April, but had an order from Court not to stir from quarters till the middle of May.

Prince Charles was destined to have commanded the corps that was to have besieged Magdebourg, but was sent for by Marechal Brown. He did not approve the disposition the Marechal had made, and told him he would be flanked, which actually happened.

I returned in the evening by Prince Moritz Bridge, which consists of 64 pontoons, and in sight of the *Wisherad*, so I made this day the tour of the whole Prussian army that formed the blockade round Prague.

Wednesday, 11*th*, *Thursday*, 12*th*, and *Friday*, 13*th*. —All firing ceased, nothing done.

Saturday, 14*th*.—I waited on the King at his quarters, to deliver a letter from his Majesty, and make some communications. I lost my road twice, having gone without an escorte or *chasseur*. I had also a letter from the Duke of * *,[3] which I delivered; King was greatly occupied. In the night there was an alert in our camp, but nothing happened.

Sunday, 15*th*.—I saw some of our redouts on the nearest hills; they were finished.

Monday, 16*th*, *to Thursday*, 19*th*.—All was quiet; forts and lines of contrevallation carried on without interruption; the Austrians in Prague busy making traverses on their ramparts and mending the parapets,

[3] Not legible.

as if they expected a regular siege, which, however, officers say cannot happen, as there is reckoned no less than 30m men in garrison in Prague.

Friday, 20*th*.—I went to the King by the bridge below Prague, it is full three hours riding ; the night before, the bridge of *Branitz*, where Prince Moritz commanded, was broke by the floods in the river, and the pontoniers neglecting to slacken the ropes, so I was obliged to return the same way I went.

The King received me kindly, and I had the honour to accompany him to visit the batteries which were raising, particularly one, a *battery royal*, a little to the left of the Ziscaberg, which appears to be very near the town, within 800 paces say the ingineers, and it seems to be much nearer than the Ziscaberg ; it is upon a hill where there is a tall round tower.

The King told me he expected a sortie the night before, but nothing happened; I had much conversation with him on horseback. He said that Monsieur de Munchhausen had wrote to Monsieur de Podewils ; that it was reported that Count Kaunitz was come to treat with him ; that it was another lye of the Austrians. I rather believe it a stupid finesse of the Hanoverians, who believe they can make discoveries by throwing out the most absurd and childish suspicions, and that to Count Podewils, who, at present, can know nothing of the King's intentions. Another piece of news he mentioned as coming from them likewise, which seemed to give him pleasure, viz., an alliance between England, the King of Spain and Sardinia, for assuring the inde-

pendency of Corsica. I fairly said I knew nothing of the matter.

He gave me assurances of his intentions to perform his engagements with the King; that he would do everything to bring *ces gens bas*, and wished he could get them afterwards to dissolve their union with France and give their troops to serve against France, but this from their pride was hardly to be expected; that he would do his utmost to take Prague, and distress them as much as he could; that afterwards he would march part of his army into Moravia, and a part into the Empire and settle matters there, perhaps through the territories of Messieurs de Bamberg, Ausburg, and Mayence, towards Achaffenburg; that he had heard that Count Kaunitz had come as far as *Teutch Brod* in order to join Marechal Brown, when he had the news of the battle; he then went to Marechal Daun's army, where he still continues, if the reports of deserters may be credited; that Marechal Daun was retiring towards *Chrudim*, and the Prince of Bevern following him; King said he had now 6m prisoners; that the enemy assembled very slowly, and it was not Luchesi[4] that was at Beneschan, as had been reported; he is thought to be in Prague.

At dinner he was very chearfull, and mentioned in general, that those that trusted to *posts* were generally beat; that Daun's army was about 26m strong, and now lay between *Kolin* and Kuttenberg, to cover their magazins which were removing to Chrudim.

Saturday, 21*st*.—Nothing.

[4] Not legible.

Sunday, 22*nd*.—Nothing.

Monday, 23*rd*.—I went to the King by the bridge at *Branitz*, which is at least one-third shorter way than that by *Podbaba*. The King told me he expected a *sortie* last night, but they had changed their mind. He likewise said, that he found that his Majesty's firmness in rejecting the propositions of neutrality, so often offered and pressed by Danemark, &c., had disconcerted the French scheme; that we should at least gain time by this, which in the present case was everything; that he wished the Duke of Cumberland might risk nothing, but if a fair opportunity offered not to neglect it; that a defeat of 10m French only, would send the others soon beyond the Rhine. I told him that his letter to the Duke was to be dispatched to-morrow morning, and that I was convinced his Royal Highness would pay the greatest deference to every hint he was pleased to give. He had, in the conversation of the 20th, told me that he disapproved of the conduct of General Lamotte and the Prince of Hesse in abandoning *Lepstadt*. I then mentioned what his Royal Highness the Duke had hinted about that affair. He also said, he destined the Prince of Hesse to be Governor of Prague.

Teusday, 24*th*.—About two o'clock this morning there was a sortie of about 10m from Prague, to attack our battery, which was well defended; the attack lasted three hours, and it was observed, though the Austrians fought bravely before day break, yet after that time their fire slackened and they retired with some precipitation into the town. The Prussians stood

firm, lost no ground, and the fire was very brisk till about five in the morning; they had, however, got into the fort, and I heard that 10 or 15 were found killed in the battery mixed with Prussian soldiers, and a great number were killed near the fort. What the Austrian loss was we know not, but Marechal Keith tells me that he has ordered upwards of 80 Austrians to be burried that were killed near the battery, others at a greater distance he leaves unburried, as Marechal Brown has not asked a cessation to burry the dead; that those near the fort would have been a nuisance to the *travailleurs*, he had therefore ordered them to be burried.

On our side 42 were killed, 217 wounded, of which there were 13 officers.

The intention of this sortie, as we learn from deserters, was, not only to destroy the battery, but also to destroy the bridge at *Podbaba* below the town, and then to have sallied upon Prince Moritz and have destroyed his bridge at *Branitz* above the town, and so, having cut off the communication between the King's army and that of Marechal Keith, to have forced their way through our army, as they reckoned themselves superior in number, which they are by about one-third, if they have 36m and we but 24m; however, as they made no impression on the Prussian troops, and could not even damage their battery, they retired about 5 in the morning, and have been very quiet all this day.

Wednesday, 25*th*. — The Marechal sent for 4

batalions from Prince Moritz and wrote to the King to replace them from his corps, which he did, but there was no occasion for them, for the Austrians gave no disturbance in the night.

Thursday, 26*th*.—All was quiet, now and then a cannon fired from the town, and in the night a few grenades thrown into the battery.

Friday, 27*th*.—Nothing happened.

Saturday, 28*th*.—Some officers that came from the King's quarters told that the pandours had sallied out in the night, but had mistaken their way, and instead of attacking a battery that was not quite finished fallen upon a redout; that there was a good deal of firing but very little damage done on either side. With us nothing happened.

The Prussian pandours of Angenelli skirmished for several hours this afternoon with the Austrian pandours, in a village below the convent of St. Margaret. Angenelli tells me that of his men there were five or six killed and 11 wounded. He was put in arrest this morning, so was not himself in the action. It is said the Duke of Saxe * * has complained of him.

Sunday, 29*th*.—Everything quiet all this day. Marechal Keith has received orders to begin playing of his battery at midnight, the signal to be given from the King's side by a sky rocket, so the batteries on both sides of the river will begin at once.

We have 18 mortars and 300 bombs, 21 or 22 cannon.

Monday, 30*th*.—About 12 o'clock last night the

bombardment began ; the bombs both from the battery on this side and from those on the other side of the river seem well pointed, what effect they have had I do not yet know. Last night between nine and ten o'clock it rained very hard, accompanied with thunder and lightning, but it ceased a little past twelve at night, and there were several heavy showers this morning ; the batteries have however continued playing incessantly.

About two o'clock this afternoon, whilst the Princes, Marechal Keith, and some other officers were dining with me, Prince Moritz came in a great hurry with amazement in his face, to acquaint the Marechal that his bridge at *Branitz* was carried away by the floods, and the great quantity of trees, beams, &c., which floated down the river. Whilst the generals were deliberating what was fit to be done upon this unhappy occurrence, a hussar arrived from General Hulsen, who commands on our left, that the other bridge at *Podbaba* was giving way ; this occasioned some consternation, as the loss of the two bridges effectually cutts off the communication with the King's army. The Marechal immediately got on horseback, and as soon as the Princes left me, I followed to see what had happened at *Podbaba*. I found upon the hill above the bridge the Princes, the Marechal, and most of the officers that dined with me ; the bridge was quite gone, and many of the pontoons floated down the river ; some, however, they have got, and the others may be picked up. I saw in the river an immense quantity of trees, &c. ; whether this be owing to the overflowing of the river and the ravage it

has made, or whether the quantity be augmented by the Austrians throwing everything that could swim into the river, I know not. I saw some of the pontoons of our bridge at *Branitz*, which must have passed through Prague. But it appears there must have been great negligence and great ignorance on the part of the *pontoniers*, who have not attended to the sudden swelling of the waters, nor taken any measures to save their pontoons when the bridge began to break ; and by the flood in the river I am led to conjecture that the fall of rain must have been more considerable nearer the sources of the Moldau. As the loss of both our bridges must be known at Prague, being both broke in day light, and within sight of the town, the pontoons of one of them being carried into Prague, it is highly probable the garrison will this night, or early next morning, attempt a sortie, as no time can be so advantageous for them as the present, there being no communication by bridges between the King's army and Marechal Keith's, and the sending over of men in boats will be both difficult and slow, but the troops are in good spirits, and will do their duty.

Tuesday, 31*st*.—The army was alert all night, but nothing happened, which has not raised the characters of the commanding officers in Prague in the eyes of our military men, as they say it was the fairest opportunity to have made a sortie, whilst all succour between the King's army and ours was absolutely cutt off. Marechal Keith said that, after this, he would strike them off the list of officers.

Our batteries were extreamly well served, and fired much quicker than yesterday; the King found that the battery on our side fired too slow, it has made amends this day. The King writes that he has burnt the bake-house of the army, and *les maisons des Juiffs;* there are three batteries on the other side. The red balls and bombs fired from these four batteries have set fire to several parts of the town; it burnt furiously last night about midnight; we do not yet know what dammage is done. One thing is surprising, that there has been no firing from the town all this day; it is imagined that either they want ammunition, or proper artillery. The most of the balls they have yet fired are 6lb., and some of 12lb., from which it is conjectured that the artillery they have consists chiefly of the field pieces belonging to the bataillons that fled into Prague the 6th. The river is yet too high, so our bridge at *Podbaba* is not thrown.

Wednesday, June 1*st.*—The town have not begun to fire. Our batteries continue to fire incessantly; about 4 afternoon I perceived a very thick smoke, which makes me believe that some other part of the town has taken fire.

Prince Moritz sent an account that, early this morning, 5m horse, supported by as many foot, had come out of Prague, that they had approached a redout on the left of the King's army, where Prince Henry commands, but upon the redouts firing, they had all returned into town. Our officers conjecture from this that their forrage begins to fail.

In the night we had no alarm, and no firing from the town. The Austrian pandours are casting up an entrenchment across the hill before the Strowhoff, which rises on the right of my quarters at Beleslavin ; in the dip of that hill, on the other side, stands the convent of St. Margarite.

Thursday, 2*nd*.—The town burnt much last night and this ; it is said our battery has kindled a magazin. No firing from the town ; our batteries continue to fire briskly.

Friday, 3*rd*.—Last night, at half an hour past 11 o'clock, the Austrian pandours surprised a redout which is nearest the town, and next to their station at *Strowhoff*. They threw in grenades, which put the men in confusion ; they were 80 in number, and 40 in *flèche*, to the right of the redout. The Captain Sheben that commanded is blamed for want of vigilance ; he never once fired his cannon, and the pandours carried them off. There were three 12lb. in the fort. The generals on the top of the hill were not so alert as they should have been.

Saturday, 4*th*.—I went to the King's quarter, was well received, mentioned to him about Mr. de Varrenes, who is returned from Constantinople, also the news I had from Russia. He said he saw he had nothing to expect from us ; we did nothing for him ; he had given 4m men, and yet heard nothing of the Baltick squadron. I laid the blame on our want of an administration, which I hoped now would be soon settled, &c. ; said if I wrote about it should have no answer ; enquired what

were doing against France ; observed that we did not act with vigour, nor make use of the power we had against them ; that we acted rather like auxiliaries than principals in this war, &c. Mr. E. hinted to me his suspicions of our acting privately with France, and certainly thinks we are thirsting after our old connexion with Vienna. Firing continued all this day, but not so frequent from any of the batteries as the former days ; no firing from the town, nor no deserters.

In the evening, notice was sent from General Winterfield that a sortie was intended, but nothing happened, all was quiet.

Sunday, 5th.—Firing continues, but not so frequent ; town does not burn so much. This day a paper was found in the pocket of a Bas officer that had been killed ; it is dated 27th May, and setts forth that the Empress Queen is greatly concerned that so many of her generals are shut up in Prague ; then Prince Charles acquaints them that he has ample power to reward and punish immediately, and mentions, in the Queen's name, the importance of defending the capital and saving the monarchy, puts them in mind of what the French did in a similar case, and hopes no less from them, as the object is so important ; assures them that the French army is marching to their assistance, and that the Swedes have promised to do the same, &c., but says nothing of the army of the empire.

I was told yesterday that there are three bomb batteries, in which likewise there are cannon ; and two batteries where there are only cannon, on the other side

the river ; there is but one on our side, which consists of 6 mortars and 8 cannons. So that all the batteries that play upon the town are 6 in number, and contain about 60 cannon and mortars.

Monday, 6*th.*—Nothing happened.

Tuesday, 7*th.*—Nothing : some bombs burst in the artillery park near my quarters.

Wednesday, 8*th.*

Thursday, 9*th.*—Waited on the King at the head-quarter at Michele, had a long conversation with him, that he expected soon to be reinforced with 10m men from Silesia and Saxony ; that in 10 days I should hear news, that he intended to march against *Daun*, who was retired to Teutsbrod ; that if he could once get rid of him, he thought Prague would soon surrender ; and he should then be in a condition to act elsewhere, and to send detachments from his army where they might be wanted ; that perhaps he might march into Moravia, and should be able to send 30m men through the bishoprick of Bamberg, &c., to succour and support the Landgrave of Hesse, whose steady behaviour had deserved everything, and from thence to act towards Dusseldorf by way of diversion.

Friday, 10*th.*—Our ammunition growing scarce, and our bombs being exhausted, Marechal Keith thought proper to withdraw the mortars and cannon from our battery, nearest the town. Next morning the Austrian pandours took possession of the place where our battery stood, and allured by some beer, corn, and other provisions, which they found in the village of * *

behind our battery and the Prussian lines, they came in still greater numbers ; the Marquis de Anjenelli was ordered to attack them with his bataillon franc. He was supported by some hussars and 150 grenadiers. He drove them out of the village ; they returned again, and were again drove out. Our hussars did very ill ; but the pandours returning a third time were supported by 4 companies of Austrian grenadiers, and they by 4 bataillons of regulars, Marechal Keith not thinking it proper to risk the loss of men for the recovery of a bad post, left them in possession of it, after the skirmishes mentioned, which lasted 3 or 4 hours without much loss on either side, and he ordered a battery to be raised in which were some pieces of cannon and 3 mortars, which begun to play the next morning. However, the Austrians still kept possession.

Saturday, 11*th*.—Our battery continued firing from time to time, but the Austrians seem to have retired part of their men ; the rest still remain skulking behind the garden walls, &c.

Sunday, 12*th*.—Nothing happened.

Chevaux de frise are placed not only before the forts, but before the lines ; the order was at the distance of 40 paces before.

Monday, 13*th*.—This morning, early, the King set out with three batailons, and the regiment of * * [5] cuirrassiers, to join the Duke of Bevern's army, upon notice received that they were endeavouring *détourner* the Duke's army. Upon the road he was met by the

[5] Not legible.

detachment he had upon the Sasawaa, which consisted of 5 batalions and 10 squadrons, which, joined to the force the Duke Bevern had, which is 19 batalions, 85 squadrons, makes in all 27 batalions, 100 squadrons, horse dragoons and hussars, about 28 or 29m men. The army under Marechal Daun we reckon to be from 40 to 45m strong, but the Austrians say it is 60m or 70m. The King ordered the surgeons to follow immediately. It was reported that the Emperor and the Archduke Joseph were to join Marechal Daun's army, and that the Empress Queen had said at taking leave, that the army must on no account retire, but advance and attack the enemy.

Tuesday, 14*th*.—The Prince Moritz of Dessau, who had taken upon him the command of the army yesterday, was ordered by the King to join him with 6 batalions and the regiment of the Prince of Prussia's cuirrassiers. He set out in the evening, as the regiments were mostly to come from this side of the river, and four batalions more were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march.

Yesterday Lieutenant-Generals Schmettau and Winterfeld came to this side the river ; some small alterations have been made to strengthen our lines, and two or three small redouts have been raised.

Wednesday, 15*th*.—Nothing happened.

Thursday, 16*th*.—Nothing happened here, and we have no accounts from the King's army.

Friday, 17*th*.—I went to visit his Royal Highness Prince Henry ; they are as little informed there as we

are of what passes in the King's army. A chasseur that arrived this morning brings word that Prince Moritz had joined the King's army, which is said to be at Mlitzowitz [6] near Kauzim, and that of the Austrians at *Zasmutz*.[6]

I heard an indistinct report of a skirmish that happened last Monday near Kuttemberg, viz., that Nadasty had attacked the Prince of Bevern with an intention to deceive him, for during the engagement Daun was to have passed towards the left, to get between him and the King, but this feint was perceived and prevented by a motion that Bevern made to the right, which they say secures his junction with the King ; however, he has quitted Kuttemberg. There was brought in about 30 prisoners taken in that skirmish, and one waggon with wounded men. A Count Schendorff [7] was among the prisoners.

The Austrian hussars and pandours begin to shew themselves on this side of the *Sasawa* by the report of the Prussian patrouilles, which say that there are 600 hussars and 600 pandours at *Beneschan*, which make detachments beyond the river.

Saturday, 18*th*.—As we have yet no accounts from the King's army, and are certain that the junction is made, our general officers seem pretty easy, and think that the King has prevented Count Daun from executing his project, but we are every moment in expectation of news of a battle. It is said the Austrians have for these three nights past been under arms towards the

[6] Not legible. [7] Or Sekendorff.

Ziscaberg, expecting Daun's approach. General Winterfeld computes the King's army thus : 32 or 33 batalions, 111 squadrons, which will make 32m men ; others reckon 117 squadrons. About 8 o'clock evening, Monsieur Schwerin, aid-de-camp to General Winterfield, arrived here with news that a hussar had brought account to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic that the King had attacked and beat the avant-garde of the Austrian army, consisting of 18m men, commanded by General Nadasty, and that when he came away, he was just going to attack the gros corps of the Austrian army. He said farther, that he heard cannon fired, which seemed to be still retiring ; thence it was concluded that the Austrian army was retiring before the King.

So soon as I heard the news (having been away in the park) I went immediately to congratulate the Prince of Prussia, Ferdinand, and the Marechal. I returned home between 9 and 10 o'clock, and did not go to bed till 3 in the morning. General Schmettau sat up with me. I confess the circumstance of a hussar coming away before the battle was decided, gave me some anxiety, which, however, I concealed. I learned at the same time that the hussar had brought orders for our batteries on the other side to continue their fire smartly. On the other side the river all was quiet this night.

Sunday, 19*th*.—No courier arriving in the night from the King's army gave me great uneasiness in the morning about 9 o'clock when I got up, and the Marechal, the Princes, and several of the generals going as far as our bridge to the right of *Branitz*, made my suspicions

stronger; the parole was not given (as they did not return) till near mid-day. I have since learnt that Major Grant was here early this morning, that the Prussian army is beat, that they gained two heights but were at last overpowered, that our horse is still entire, not having done much, that Prince of Bevern still continues with 10 or 12 batalions. King arrived at Michele. This evening it was reported that Colonel Cracow was just arrived with news that this day Prince of Bevern had been attacked and defeated the Austrians; of this I doubted; it was spread by General Winterfield's aid-de-camp.

Later in the night we knew the truth, viz., that Prince Moritz had wrote to the King that he had this morning advanced to the field of battle, and the enemy retired; but that in obedience to orders *il s'etoit replie sur Nimburg.*

Monday, 20*th.*—I dispatched a courier to the Duke, and set out, by Marechal Keith's advice, for Leitmeritz, where I arrived before 10 o'clock night, having stopped only at *Welwarn*, and a few moments at *Doxa;* in passing the river my papers were a little dammaged; the country hereabouts is fertile and rich, and the plain before Leitmeritz is deep and rich.

I dined at Welwarn with Colonel * * [8] and Fink, who were both wounded in the battle of 18th; the first told me that he was on the left; that the infantry advanced and took eight pieces of cannon; that some batailons of the right wing of the enemy made signals

[8] Not legible.

with their colours that they surrendered prisoners of war, but the Prussians could not in the instant be kept from firing; that the infantry advanced and made themselves masters of two heights; that the enemy's firing ceased; that no cavalry advanced, notwithstanding of the King's repeated order, and though he put himself at their head; that the enemy's cavalry flanked the Prussian, who at the same time were raked by the cartridge shot. It is the Colonel's opinion that if he had been supported only by four squadrons the victory was sure, as the right of the enemy had given way, and their left would, by their retreat, have had their flank exposed. He says the fire was still more dreadfull than on the 6th, and the ground more compact * *,[9] and that of his batalion not above 50 are living; but the soldiers at last seeing they were not supported, fell into confusion and retired; most of the above facts were confirmed by Colonel Fink.

I arrived at Leitmeritz about ten o'clock night, and lodged at the Bishop's palace, which is without the town upon the banks of the river; the situation is very pleasant and romantick; the river runs before it to the south, and as the river bends you see it also from the east and west windows; behind, to the north, the hills are very pretty, shaped like obtuse cones, covered with wood and vines, and they rise almost joining to the town. The town itself is but poor; there are some tolerable houses in it, and a large square marcat place; the streets that go off from thence are narrow.

[9] Not legible.

Tuesday, 21*st.*—Several of the wounded officers went by water to Dresden; I expected every moment the arrival of some troops here, as there was but one * *[1] batalion that guarded this important place, where we had our magazins, but none arrived.

Wednesday, 22*nd.*—No troops arriving, I began to grow uneasy, but resolved to remain where I was till I heard either from the King or the Marechal. This afternoon I had notice that an officer and some baggage waggons had been taken at *Salest*, about a mile and half from hence, on the road to Aussig.

Thursday, 23*rd.*—I received a letter from the Marechal, acquainting me of his and the army safe arrival at Budin, where he intended to wait for orders.

No troops arriving here, I was surprised that the hussars and pandours in the neighbourhood did not attempt to destroy our flour, &c., which lay all exposed and ungarded along the banks of the river, and might easily have been effected; but these sort of troops think only of their own gains, without minding the advantage they may be of to the service.

General Manstein and the Marquis de Varrenes arrived here; I had a good deal of conversation with them; they say the post was extreamly strong, and seemed to think it should not have been attacked; that notwithstanding the King had almost gained a victory; that if the infantry had been supported by the cavalry it could not have failed; that even some more batalions of infantry would have done the business alone.

[1] Not legible.

Manstein was shot through the left arm, and going to Dresden for his cure. I told him what had happened at *Salest.* He answered he had taken his precautions by sending on 80 men to *Tumnitz*, and that he would set out at midnight with 100 more of escorte. I gave Varrenes a letter to be forwarded to Hanover by estaffette.

Friday, 24*th.* — About 11 this morning, 2 of General Manstein's servants returned and told me their master had been attacked near *Velmine* by about 40 or 50 hussars, and some Croates, pandours, and armed peasants, to the number, as they computed, of 300 ; that they feared their master was either killed or taken prisoner. I immediately wrote to the Marechal, and sent the servant along with a chasseur to Budin, and I also wrote to the King, but I find since, my letter was not forwarded till next day.

Saturday, 25*th.*—The Marechal, having received a letter from the King, arrived here with the army from Budin. They are encamped on the plain to the south of the town, which I guess to be upwards of two English miles from E. to W., and about two from N. to S. ; to the south it is edged with rising grounds, which forms a sweep from E. to W., so that the plain is of unequal breadth. The Prince Royal and Prince Ferdinand, the Marechal, and other officers, did me the honour of dining with me.

I saw on the tops of some of the hills, particularly that to the W., several pandours and other irregulars. We have very few horse and hardly any hussars, but some are expected to-morrow.

Sunday, 26th.—Five or six regiments of cavalry arrived in the camp from the King's army, and the King was expected, but did not come till the next day.

I shall now mention some of the remarks that have been made on the last action of 18th, near Chuzzim.

1°. The impatience the King had to attack the enemy, in order to secure the surrender of Prague, and to be able to detach 20m to support the Duke of Cumberland and Landgrave of Hesse, and to discourage the assembling of the army of the empire.

2°. The contempt he had of the enemy, arising from the many victories he had gained over them, particularly that of the 6th of May near Prague, where they had been forced from their strong posts, notwithstanding of their very numerous artillery.

3°. His not believing the enemy so strong as they really were.

4to. His attacking with his whole line in front of the enemy, who, besides the advantage of ground, had, as some say, 250 pieces of cannon in their lines and redouts; they likewise observe that he might have flanked them on the left, so as to oblige them to change their position.

5°. That there was too few infantry.

6°. That the cavalry did not, when they could, support the infantry.

7mo. That there was no necessity of attacking; for if Daun had orders to relieve Prague, and to risk a battle, he must have advanced, and the King might then have attacked with advantage; or, if he had orders not to

risk a battle, his retreat must have been dangerous before an army so strong in cavalry.

8°. If the King had chose a strong post for his army of observation nearer Prague, at Bomish Brode, having the Sasawa on his right, and his own army behind, forming the blocade of Prague, it is doubted whether Daun would have ventured to attack him, and Prague must have surrendered so soon as their provisions were spent.

9^vo^. If, instead of small detachments made at the beginning, a competent force had been sent against Daun, soon after the battle, the assembling of his army might either have been prevented, or greatly obstructed; the troops that gathered after the defeat of the 6th might have been dispersed or intercepted by parties detached beyond the *Beraun* and the *Sasawa;* and the original force of Daun's army was not considerable, but the Duke of Bevern's corps was not sufficient to attack Daun, whose interest it was to gain time by retiring, and by abandoning some magazins he gathered strength daily, whereas, had he been pushed at once into Moravia, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for him to have attempted the relief of Prague for want of magazins, that of Teutsh-brod being the only one left, which, if Daun had been pushed with vigour, must have fallen into the hands of the Prussians.

10°. It is said (by the reports of some officers taken in the last action) that Daun was to have retired the next day, his fighting order having been countermanded.

11°. The consequences of this defeat is more than the

loss itself; it therefore should not have been risked, for, besides the number of men and officers that cannot be repaired,—1. it destroys at once all the advantages of the battle of the 6th; 2. makes it impossible to succour the allies elsewhere; 3. raises the blocade of Prague with great risque to the divided army; 4. encourages the confederation, and strengthens their interest in the empire, which began to shake; 5. after the succour Daun had received, it is doubted whether if a victory had been obtained, it would have been decisive.

12°. Not only the post was too strong, the artillery too numerous, but it is said the enemy were 80m, which the King would not believe, and that all the officers that durst speak disuaded him from attacking.

These are the principal remarks I have heard since the battle. I know that some of the generals did not approve of the scheme of bombardment, which they said would never force a town with a garrison of 30m to surrender; some talked of leaving an army of observation equal to that in the town, and going forward; others of investing it at a greater distance, so as to invite the enemy to come out and venture a battle.

Monday, 27*th*.—The King arrived here with 14 batalions. I had a long conversation with him. He appears much affected with what has happened, but bears it well. He talked to me whether it was not possible to make peace for Germany, restoring things upon the footing they were, and whether the King could not

make such propositions to France. I only said it had been the constant policy of France to endeavour to distress England by attacking Hanover, &c., but begged his Majesty when he had thought more fully of this matter to communicate any scheme he could form, which I would directly send to England. This he promised to do.

The King was then pleased to describe to me very particularly the last unhappy battle. He said that as he marched to join Prince of Bevern's army, on Tuesday, 14th, he like to have fallen in with 10 or 12m Austrians at *Sasmutz;* that he placed himself behind a defilé and was resolved, if attacked, to have retired behind another defilé; that soon after he was joined by General Preskow. The strength of the King was only 3 batalions and 1 regiment cavalry; that of Preskow 5 batalions and 10 squadrons. This was owing to want of communication between him and the Duke of Bevern. Prince Moritz with 6 batalions arrived on Thursday; Friday, made a small motion. The King intended to have occupied the grounds which Daun had taken, and first observed a line of troops on the high grounds, which, however, the officers thought was only an advanced party. This obliged him to change his disposition, and the ardour of his troops to attack a village that lay upon the right of the enemy led them into sustaining a most dreadful cannonade. His intention, he says, was to have flanked their right, which would have obliged them to make an alteration in their disposition, of which he might have profited. He

observed that he had sustained a great loss of men and officers, but the greatest of all was the consequences it would have at this time, which he now sees in their full light, but said the enemy were *canaile* and not soldiers, did not know how to profit of the advantage they had gained; they remained three days in their camp after the action. An officer taken said, *Nous avons repoussé une escalade, mais nous n'avons pas gagné une bataille.* He said his intention was to have engaged only his left *pour tourner l'ennemi*, but the ardour of his troops in attacking the village had been the cause of the misfortune. He owned that he had too few troops; that his anxiety to send assistance to his allies while it was yet time was his chief motive.

That the heights were not so steep as those near Prague; that they had 250 pieces of cannon; that now he must be very cautious in venturing a battle; that he had well examined the grounds in Saxony about Erfurt, &c.; that if the Austrians detached to support the army of the empire, he might perhaps find an occasion to attack them with advantage.

Tuesday, 28*th*.—Prince of Prussia set out to take the command of the army.

Wednesday, 29*th*.—I had several conversations with the King, of which I have given an account in my letter to Lord Holdernesse of this date.

Thursday, 30*th*.

Friday, July 1*st*.—Having given a full account of the conversations I had with the King during his stay at Leitmeritz, it is unnecessary to repeat them here;

I shall, therefore, only endeavour to recollect such passages as I did not think necessary to take notice of in my letters.[2]

So soon as the King had notice of the death of the Queen Mother, he for two days had no levée; the Princes only dined with him. He sent for me in the afternoon, and I had the honour to sit with him several hours. He appeared to me to be extremely affected with the death of the Queen Mother—complained that his misfortunes came too thick to be borne; he then was pleased to tell me a great deal of the private history of his family; of the manner in which he had been educated, owning at the same time the loss he felt for the want of proper education, blaming his father, but with great candour and gentleness, and acknowledging that in his youth he had been *bien étourdi*, and deserved his father's indignation, which, however, the late King, from the impetuosity of his temper, had carried too far. He told me that by his mother's persuasion and that of his sister of Bayreuth, he had given a writing under his hand, declaring that he never would marry any other person but the Princess Amelia of England; that this was wrong, and provoked his father. He said he could not excuse it, but from his youth and want of experience; that his promise unhappily was discovered, the late Queen Caroline, to

[2] The passage which follows, somewhat altered, has been published by M. Von Raumer, as from one of Mitchell's Dispatches in the State Paper Office. But the preceding remark in this Journal shows that it could not be in any of Mitchell's letters or dispatches. See Chap. viii., Dispatch of July 4th, 1757.

whom it was sent, having shown or spoke of it to General Diemar. He had betrayed the secret to Seckendorff, who told it to the King of Prussia; upon this discovery, and his scheme of making his escape, his misfortunes followed. He told me, with regard to making his escape, that he had long been unhappy and harshly used by his father, but what made him resolve upon it was, that one day his father struck him, and pulled him by the hair, and in this dishevelled condition he was obliged to pass the parade, that from that moment he had resolved, *coute qui coute*, to venture it. That during his imprisonment at * * [3] he had been treated in the harshest manner; brought to the window to see * * [4] beheaded; that he fainted away. That [Katt] might have made his escape and saved himself, the Danish minister having given him notice, but he loitered, he believed, on account of some girl he was fond of.

He said the happiest years of his life were those he spent at * * [5] a house he has given to his brother Prince Henry. There he retired after his imprisonment, and remained till the death of the late King. His chief amusement was study, and making up for the want of education by reading, making extracts, and conversing with sensible people and men of taste that were then about him. He talked much of the obligations he had to the Queen Mother, and of his affection

[3] There is a blank in the MS. The place was Custrin.
[4] A blank in the MS. The name, no doubt, is Katt.
[5] Rheinsberg.

to his sister the Margravine of Bayreuth, with whom he had been bred. He observed that the harmony that had been maintained in his family was greatly owing to the education they had had, imperfect and defective in many things, but good in this, that all the children had been brought up, not as princes, but as the children of private persons. He mentioned the differences there had been between their family and that of Hanover, and spoke of the late King's testament, but with great moderation. He told me his intention was to remain in Bohemia as long as he could, and to destroy the forrage which he could not consume ; that his brother the Prince of Prussia would do the same on the confines of Lusatia ; this would make it difficult for the enemy to follow him.

[Here there is a break in the Journal from July 1st to July 20th.]

Wednesday, 20th July.—Left Leitmeritz, came to Lowositz, lay there that night and the next; King at *Sulowitz.* Thursday, in the afternoon, some of the Austrian hussars and pandours having passed the Elbe, though the bridge had been burnt that morning, formed in small chequered parties in the plain, and there was some slight skirmishes between our dragoons and them. I wondered they did not drive them into the river, as our camp was upon a rising ground, the enemy in the plain, with the Elbe in flank and the Eger in the rear, but the King told me the reason the next morning, viz.,

that it was his business to retire, that the villages in the plain being occupied by the pandours, they could not be dislodged without attacking those villages with foot.

On Thursday morning, as the King had changed his quarter, and the corps under Prince Henry had passed and burnt the bridge at Leitmeritz, I was riding along the side of the Elbe to the King's quarters at Sulwitz; some Austrian hussars had like to have surrounded me, but Monsieur Vanderhoff, a Dutch volunteer, seeing my danger, made signs to me which I understood, and got off with some difficulty, being that day unfortunately ill mounted.

Friday, 22*nd*.—Marched, at three in the morning, to Luchwitz, beyond Lenai, the bagage having marched the day before. Money, the messenger, arrived at 10 at night.

Saturday, 23*rd*.—Halted; the baggage marched on in the afternoon. King marched with 16 batalions, 30 squadrons; Marechal Keith with 14 batalions, 30 squadrons, and I was informed the Prince of Prussia had under him an army of about 35m.

Sunday, 24*th*.—Army marched to Nellendorff; here we had the news of Tetchen's being abandoned. The officer was blamed, and put in arrest. This place was of consequence, as thereby the navigation of the Elbe would be interrupted. It was given out in orders that no volunteer, of what rank soever, should follow the King into Lusatia.

Monday, 25*th*.—Marched through two defilés, passed

through Shoenwald ; some of the passes very bad, but we saw no enemy in this whole march, except a few pandours between *Lowositz* and *Lenai*, the first day's march.

In this march I had much philosophical conversation with the King, as I accompanied him on horseback ; he supported the misfortunes, which came very thick upon him since the battle of Kolin, with a magnanimity not to be described, though I could perceive he felt them severely.

Before the King left Leitmeritz, he complained to me of his brother, the Prince of Prussia's conduct, that he retired too fast ; that his intention of placing him where he was, was to cover Lusatia, and to keep the communication open with Silesia. Upon the road, he received the unhappy news that *Gabel* was taken ; that in consequence of this loss the Austrians were advanced, and were bombarding Zittau ; that the two armies were * * [6] at Zittau in this manner. The King told me his intention of going into Lusatia to restore his affairs ; he said his soldiers had been intimidated by the misconduct of the generals ; that the army had been harrassed with marching, and were discouraged ; that this would hinder him to act with the vigour he wished to do ; that he would, as soon as possible, endeavour to give the enemy battle ; if he succeeded, it would restore his affairs ; if not, there was an end of it.

The King desired me to go to Dresden ; I pressed to follow him into Lusatia.

[6] Not legible.

Tuesday, 26*th*.—Came to Dresden.

Wednesday, 27*th*.—Staid at Pirna.

I had several conversations with him ; he shewed an epitaph he had made for himself.

I communicated to him the contents of the dispatches I had received from England, which were very agreeable ; see my letters. He said, however, talking of promised succours, that it was *la moutarde apres diné*.

Thursday, 28*th*.—King passed the Elbe at Pirna ; I returned to Dresden.

The King remained in Lusatia a whole month, doing every thing that was possible to entice the Austrians to fight, but all to no purpose ; they remained unattackable in a very strong camp, fortified with cannon. At last he encamped within half cannon shot of them, and remained in this position 2 or 3 days ; but all would not do, so he was obliged to return to Dresden on the 29th August.

Saturday, 30*th*.—The Prince of Prussia arrived from the army. He sent to me immediately to meet him at the Margrave Charles, was extremely hot and imprudent in his manner of talking, shewed me the letters he had received from the King and the answers he had made to them. I advised him (what I thought really for his interest, without however taking any part in the dispute) to pretend sickness, to see few company, and not to talk of what had passed, and to enjoin silence to his followers, who were all young men, except General Schmettau, his fellow sufferer ; but I found in few days,

though he approved of my advice, he could not follow it, for everything was told to everybody.

At this time there was but one regiment in Dresden, and I thought it highly probable that the town would have been taken by the Austrian irregulars, who swarmed on every side; there were then upwards of 12m sick and wounded in Dresden. The King's affairs had a very bad aspect. I began to think them irretrievable; and it is certain, that had the Austrians acted with vigour, they might have taken Dresden with great ease, and with very little loss of men. Prince Moritz, who was all this time at Zeist, would not stir a foot, because he had orders to stay where he was; at last he was prevailed with to send us 2 batalions to Dresden, which, however, were soon recalled, as the King, who certainly did not know our situation, did not approve of his giving them. However, Colonel Finck wrote to the King a fair account of our situation, and I am persuaded that the fears of the Queen of Poland and of the Princess Electoral was the saving of Dresden.

But this does not excuse the Austrians for not attempting something upon Torgau, or even Leipsig; the taking of either would not have been difficult, and must greatly have distressed the King's affairs.

I remained all month of August at Dresden; what accounts we had of the King's transactions in Lusatia, I have communicated in my letters to England of that month. His Majesty did everything that man could do to invite the enemy to fight, but they remained quiet in a strong camp they had at Ubbersdorff, behind Zittau.

I was in great uneasiness for the subsistance of the King's army during his stay in Lusatia, but luckily all the convoys of provisions got safe through, without any considerable loss.

The Austrian hussars mauroded all round Dresden, Torgau, and Meissen, and on the right of the Elbe, and appeared sometimes between Dresden and Pirna, so that I was in some sort a prisoner during my residence at Dresden.

Nothing very remarkable happened during this whole month ; about the end of it I received a letter of confidence from the Duke of Cumberland, acquainting me that, by the King's order, Monsieur de Steinberg had sent a courier to Vienna to treat for a separate neutrality. I was struck with the news, and immediately communicated it to Monsieur Eichel, who told me that the Hanoverian courier had been discovered on the 20th at Berlin ; that he wanted to pass for a merchant, but being stopped, he produced the Duke of Cumberland's pass, and upon that he had leave to continue his route by Breslaw to Vienna. He likewise told me that Monsieur de Steinberg had acquainted the Prussian ministers at Berlin that they were treating, &c., for a neutrality at Vienna, &c.

Monsieur Eichel very modestly said it would have been proper to have acquainted his master, the King of Prussia, before any such negotiation was begun. I answered, I thought as he did ; and that I was persuaded this step had been taken without the knowledge of his Majesty's English ministers. I desired him,

however, to give the King of Prussia immediate notice of it, and excused my not writing to his Majesty upon it, as my notice was an indirect one, and only a letter of confidence from the Duke of Cumberland; but I assured him that I would immediately write in the strongest terms to my Court upon it, which I did accordingly : see my letter.

I cannot describe what I suffered on this occasion; there was so much perfidy in the act itself, and it was conducted with so many mean and low arts to conceal it from the King of Prussia, that I looked upon the whole with equal contempt and abhorrence; but I thank Heaven I did not hesitate one moment what part to take, and I resolved fairly to tell the King of Prussia everything I knew, to save and preserve, if possible, the confidence he had been pleased to distinguish me with, and at the same time to vindicate the honour of my country, by affirming in the boldest manner that I believed this treaty for a separate neutrality had been begun and carried on without the consent or participation of any English minister.

I had an opportunity to do this much sooner than I thought of, for the King of Prussia returned unexpectedly with part of his army to Dresden on Monday, 29th of August. I waited on him immediately. He received me with great goodness. I believe he had heard of what I suffered and of the embaras I was in, for he was remarkably gracious.

In this conversation the King of Prussia said, "I needed not be so much alarmed; that though this showed

very bad and unfair intentions, yet it must take time before a thing of that sort could be negotiated between the Courts of Vienna and Paris (for at this time we had no suspicion of any negotiation but with the Court of Vienna); that it might perhaps occasion some jealosy and misunderstanding between them, of which we might profit, if the English ministry still remained firm." He concluded with desiring me to come the next day to him.

August 30*th.*—After dinner the King of Prussia read to me the King's letter to him, which was founded upon the fatal necessity there was to save his country, but giving assurances as King of England, &c.; to this the King of Prussia answered with great moderation, after setting forth what his countries had suffered, and what he had lost, that still his affairs were not in desparate condition; that he had indeed lost a battle, and that it was not a good reason to abandon an ally because he was unfortunate.

The King was in very good humour and spirits, notwithstanding the unpleasant situation of his affairs; and I ventured to ask him, whilst we were drinking coffee, *to change the place of imprisonment of Count Wacherbach* from Custrin to any other place; this he refused. He said afterwards, jocosely, "*J'ai commencé la campagne en Général, je va lá finir en partizan.*"

31*st August.*—I dispatched a messenger to England: see the letters of that date. The King of Prussia set out this day, passing through Dresden, and led the advanced guard of his small army.

Thursday, 1*st September.*—I left Dresden in the morning, and joined the corps of the army led by Marechal Keith, at about one mile from Dresden ; the Marechal passed through Dresden the afternoon of the 31st, and lay at * * the head quarter ; passed through Wilsdruff and lay at *Rochembery ;* it rained all day ; the roads very bad and deep.

2*nd September.*—Lay at *Döblen,* a small town ; rained all day.

3*rd September.*—Lay at *Marchwitz ;* rained all day ; passed some bad defilés ; the roads were extremely deep, and the men prodigiously fatigued, so that many of them fell down on the march, and some died in the night by the great fatigue of these three marches joined to what they had suffered in Lusatia.

4*th.*—Halted. The Marechal in confidence gave me the true account of the battle of *Lowositz.*

5*th.*—Marched to *Grimma* upon the Moldau, a short march ; we passed the river on a stone bridge ; a pretty small town, formerly a place of trade ; it rained much.

6*th.*—Halted.

7*th September.*—Marched to Rötha, lay at Baron Friese, a very good house, and very civil polite landlady ; the King had been there the day before. All this country is very fertile, and abounds greatly with garden stuff of all sorts ; the situation of Rötha is low and watery.

8*th.*—Crossed the *Pleiss,* a small river, and also several ditches upon wooden bridges ; the country well

wooded, plain, and fertile in grain ; the villages have large fields of radishes, turnips, carrots, cabages, &c. &c. round them ; and at *Pegau* we crossed the *Elster*.

N.B.—On the 6th our hussars of the advanced guard killed about 30 and took some prisoners of the Austrian hussars, who were sent to Leipzic. All this time our little army saw no enemy, nor had no alarm.

9th.—From *Pegau* the road good and weather fine ; a rich country ; the army lay at *Ober* and *Unter Nessan*. The King sent for the pontoons, the Austrians having burnt the bridges over the *Saal*. The King took 24 hussars near *Naumbourg*.

10th September.—Came to *Naumbourg ;* the road good, and a fine country, but no wood till you come near the river. The banks of the Saal are high on the opposite side. It was said that the Austrians had destroyed the bridges from Jena to Leipzic upon this river. The King was encamped upon the high grounds to the left of the town. The river is a little way from the town beyond it. Prince Henry had passed the river Saal with two regiments of dragoons and cavalry, some hussars, and 4 batallions. The King lay this night at *Naumbourg*. The country about is very fine, and all the hills covered with vines.

11th.—Crossed the *Saal* at *Altenburg* upon a bridge of *chevalets* a quarter of a mile from Naumburg, and higher up the river ; the other column crossed at Köthen, where are the salt works. The river is narrow but not deep ; the banks on the opposite shore high, and easily defended. Head quarter at *Frankenau*.

I lay at *Punscherau.* The King was that night at *Braunsroda.*

12*th.*—Road good; the country open but not so fertile; little wood; we passed some small defilés; came to *Buttstadt,* a small poor town in the Duke of Weymar's country. Here we heard that the French were retired.

STATE.	BAT.	SQUAD.
At Naumburg left	1	10
At Frankenau	5	0
Marched to Buttstadt with	14	10
	20	20
King has with him	8	18
	28	38

Tuesday, 13*th.*—Halted at Buttstadt; only some batalions came into town, the rest camped en bandiere, appuié a Buttstadt, the artillery in the centre of the second line, the cavalry on the right, where there was water. We had news that the French had left 3m in the citadel of Erfurth; that the King was advanced towards Erfurth. He sent for the regiment of Forcade, for some Haubitz,[7] and pieces of 12 lb. to march in the afternoon. At night we had notice that the King was in Erfurth.

Wednesday, 14*th.*—Order for Prince Maurice to march to Torgau with 10 or 11 batalions and 10 squadrons: he was to leave one batalion more at Naumburg. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick marched at the same time with 7 batalions, 10 squadrons, and 100 hussars towards

[7] Howitzers.

Halberstadt. Batalion of *Retzow* marched by *Neumark* to *Ollendorff* in the territory of Erfurd, with artillery, viz., 8 of 24 lb., 11 of 12 lb. The country hereabouts is a deep rich clay, has no stones; some of the hills are planted; the country is waved,[8] and the hills make a pleasing prospect to the eye.

We lay at * *, where the King's quarter was.

15*th.*—Marched to Duttleberg, about a quarter of a mile from Erfurth. The King being gone out, I went into town with the Marechal to secure quarters, as there were none to be found in or near the village where the King lay. The King was gone to reconnoitre with 10 squadrons of dragoons, and 10 squadrons of hussars, and went as far this day as Gotha. We waited at his quarter till almost 6 in the evening.

The capitulation the King had made the day before was that the garrison in the Petersberg should remain neuter, which I heard consisted of two Electoral and one Austrian batalion, that the Cynacberg should be evacuated. It had only a few invalids in it.

I heard that there had been in this town 32 batalions and 12 squadrons of French, of the Empire 6 batalions, and within a mile of the town 14 batalions of the Empire, and 20 squadrons; all retired two days before the King arrived.

The town of Erfurth, the capital of Thuringe, is an old ugly town, the houses mostly built of mud. It belongs to the Elector of Mayence, and is governed by a stadtholder, named by him. There are 72 villages

[8] What we should now call undulating or undulated.

belonging to the town ; there are some very fine woods near the town, and the largest gardens of water-cresses I ever saw. The inhabitants are of the three religions ; there is a Scotch colledge here, depending on that at Ratzbonne.

16*th.*—The King returned from Gotha ; he appeared much pleased with the reception he had met with there, and particularly commended the Duchess. He left ten squadrons dragoons, and 5 squadrons hussars at Gotha.

17*th.*—Changed his quarter, and marked out a camp for the whole army, to deceive the spies.

18*th.*—I dispatched *Potter* to England. Letters are dated the 17th from Erfurth.

19*th*, *Monday.*—Dined with the King at his new quarter at * *. Here he told me of the *neutrality* at Hanover ; he seemed much provoked, and asked me if, after this, he might not take any step; said they had not even saved the country by this *infamous convention*, that the articles were—

1. Troops to return to their respective countries.

2. To remain in a district assigned them, i. e., a sort of prison.

3. Bremen to be evacuated.

4. Hamburg to remain neuter, and to supply both armies.

5. French to keep possession till the peace.

Then he added, this neutrality is infamous, and has been negotiated by the Hanoverians through the canal of Denmark ; the King has lost that fermeté he once

had; the *canaille of Hanover* have done this; they have not saved their country, and they have betrayed their protector; (the Swedes have taken the bailliages belonging to your master in Pomerania.)

This day, news was brought that General Sedelitz had taken 50 hussars, a major, and another officer.

Tuesday, 20*th*.—Prisoners are brought to town, and a few more taken. The Austrians have advanced to *Gotha*. General Sedelitz has repulsed them, and is again in possession of Gotha.

Wednesday, 21*st*.—The dragoons, hussars, &c., under General Sedelitz, returned here; this action does Sedelitz much honour.

General Sedelitz, after retreating from Gotha, observed that the troops that followed him, though 8m in number, acted timidly and irresolutely; he had only 1700 in all, cuirassiers or dragoons and hussars; he drew them in several columns, with intervals between, and made some of the dragoons dismount. As only the heads of these columns appeared, with the dismounted dragoons in the intervals, the enemy thought he had got a reinforcement with infantry; at the same time he made one of his dragoons desert, to inform the enemy that the King, with rest of the army, was behind; this had the desired effect, and he began to advance slowly, the enemy still retiring, and again took possession of Gotha.

The King gave him several crosses of *Merite*, to bestow upon the officers that had behaved well in this expedition.

Thursday, 22*nd*.—I saw the King at his quarter; he said, when this affair was over, meaning the *Hanover Convention*, he would tell me some particulars that would make me laugh.

The King had news of the retreat of the Russian army in several columns; he said that *Lehwald* was following them; he ascribes it to one of these causes—

1. Death of the Empress.
2. A revolution in the empire.
3. Disturbances on the frontier towards the Ukraine.

Friday, 23*rd*.—The troops that had been at Gotha were quartered in the town of Erfurth.

Saturday, 24*th*.—King came into Erfurth on horseback for an hour, 11 to 12.

About 3 afternoon Meyers' corps marched with some dragoons.

N.B. Three days ago we had news that Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had taken 4 or 500 French prisoners near Halberstadt.

Sunday, 25*th*.—I saw the King at his quarter, he had been ill in the night of a cholick. All the cavalry is at *Frumstadt*, *Gotshdt*, and *Bindersleben*.

King believes the Empress of Russia dead. Marechal Lehwaldt is following the Russians, one column towards Courland, and the other towards Poland.

I staid to drink coffee with Marechal Keith; we were alarmed that the Austrian hussars had entered our camp before Erfurth and burnt it. The fact was true: the cavalry had left their tents with a very small guard, and a few hussars carried off some lame horses and

burnt a parcel of straw or hay in the camp. I found it burning as I returned at 7 at night. I was told upon sending out a patrouille of foot the hussars immediately rode off.

Monday, 26*th*.—Marechal Keith dined with me at Erfurth, together with father Leslie, two of the name of Grant, and one Gordon, belonging to the Scotch college at Erfurth, which depends upon that of Ratisbone.

The Marechal told me that the King had resolved to stay till the 29th, that the army was to encamp the next day, and it was to be given out that Prince Moritz was to join with the corps under his command. Our reverend fathers, to whom we communicated the news of Prince Moritz, were useful to speed this report.

As there is a great bell one of the fathers said weighed 23m., Marechal Keith said that at Moscow, the Great St. John, weighed 520m ; its diameter was 21 feet 9 inches. And the Little St. John at Moscow weighed 360m.

Tuesday, 27*th*.—The King sent me word that the army was to march as next day.

Wednesday, 28*th*.—Army marched in three columns, consisted of 11 batalions and 23 squadrons ; the country open and fine. Saw no enemy : came to *Buttlestedt*. Meyer wanted to pass through Erfurth, but governor Grant had taken the keys with him and drawn the bridges, so Meyer was put in arrest.

As I was riding along with the King he told me his *pandours sont retournez dans la pandourerie*. He talked

to me of his prophecy, which he had given me in writing.

Thursday, 29*th.*—Halted. Some hussars seen at a distance.

Friday, 30*th.*—The regiment of Piedmont came into Erfurth. The hussars made fires upon the heights to deceive General Sedelitz ; weather cold and unpleasant.

October, Saturday, 1*st.*—Halted ; very cold, and some snow.

Sunday, 2*nd.*—General Sedelitz brought in 50 hussars, partly French and partly Austrian ; they were surprized between this place and Erfurth ; very cold, rained.

King told me of Count Lynar's letter to Count Reiss, viz., that he, Lynar, had been inspired, and happily brought about the Convention of Hanover, though he had neither instructions nor full powers, but that he had done it to save the effusion of human blood, and he valued himself much upon it. All this from Lynar's own letter, which was intercepted.

Monday, 3*rd.*—Marched from Buttlestadt, a very poor place, situated in a bottom in the Pais de Weymar, to Butstedt, a poor town in the same dutchy. Saw no enemy ; country open ; woods at a distance on the heights ; very cold ; the distance only one mile. News from Prince Ferdinand that the corps of Richelieu was advancing.

Tuesday, 4*th.*—Halted ; 5 deserters of Visher came in.

Wednesday, 5*th.*—Halted ; it was reported that the French were at Weymar, and the enemy's hussars at Weymar.

Thursday, 6th.—Pollock and Monot, the messengers, arrived together, with letters of the 16th and 24th September, and one of the 30th September from the Duke of Cumberland, acquainting me that on the 9th same month he had signed a *convention*, &c.; this was the first authentick notice I had of this negotiation.

Friday, 7th.—Halted; I communicated the Duke of Cumberland's letter to the King, and had a very long and unpleasant conversation upon this subject, in which, however, he spoke with decency and candour of the King and the nation, but he spared not the Hanoverians nor his Royal Highness.

Saturday, 8th.—Halted; some deserters from Visher; King had news that Sir Charles Williams was returned to Petersburg, which confirmed the conjectures about Russia.

Sunday, 9th.—Halted; French and Austrians retired. King told me that he did not know how to answer the letter he had received from my master.

Monday, 10th.—Did not see the King; heard that the Prince of Bevern was beat; this was not true, but he was cannonaded on the 27th September, and has thrown in part of his infantry into the strong places. Saw Monsieur Eichel; he shewed me the King's letter to the King of Prussia, it is very strong and confused, seems to disavow and to disapprove, mentions the misfortunes has happened by his not being in his own dominion, that he was *dupe de sa bonne foi, &c.* He likewise told me that the English Ministry were unanimous, and were endeavouring to get the King to disavow;

have got a declaration, but it is still clear that what the Duke of Cumberland did was by the King's order.

Marechal Lehwald begun to follow the Russians the 3rd October.

Tuesday, 11*th*.—Marched to Eckerberg, a small town in a bottom surrounded with hills, an old castle on the top of one of them; it rained the whole way. The distance is only one[9] mile from Butstedt, the soil rich clay.

As I rode along with the King, he appeared low spirited and more pensive than I had seen him. He told me your ministers will no doubt heighten the cry against the Duke of Cumberland, but, to speak freely, England nor its ministers can ever be justified for not succouring with troops his Royal Highness, and saving of Hanover in this case of extreme necessity, especially after the Parliamentary declarations that have been made.

Thursday, 13*th*.—Came to Naumburg. I saw the salt works at Kösen.

Friday, 14*th*.—King desired me to stay with Marechal Keith at Naumburg; he set out with 6 batalions for Weisenfels; horse dragoons and hussars had gone before; it rained all day; it was said that General Marshal was advancing towards Berlin.

Saturday, 15*th*.—Halted.

Sunday, 16*th*.—Dispatched Roworth to England by Mersburg, Dessau, &c.

17*th*, 18*th*, *and* 19*th*.—Halted; this town is walled about, situated in a pleasant country, the hills round it

[9] One German mile, that is, about five English miles.

planted with vines, and there are some good houses, though the people say they have very little trade, and no manufacture settled here.

Thursday, 20*th*.—Halted; it was reported that the Prince of Soubise and Marechal Richelieu were going into winter quarters. King set out from Leipsic the 17th, it was supposed for Torgau; only Haddick's corps points to Berlin, and it is supposed that Prince Moritz was there yesterday.

Here I had some serious conversation with a friend, and I cannot help suspecting, from the non-action of the French, that the King of Prussia is treating, I imagine, by the way or means of Duke of Brunswick.

On this occasion I learnt this anecdote, that A°. 1754 a proposition was made to the King of Prussia to yield the Principality of Neufchatel to Madame Pompadour for life. She to be created a Princess, and to have the revenue, and the King of Prussia to receive, in lieu of them, a gratification from France equal to them. This he rejected with disdain; and it is perhaps one reason of her hatred to him.

Friday, 21*st*.—Left Naumburg. General Forcade with his regiment and the free batalion of Meyer crossed the ferry and destroyed the boat, afterwards he marched to Mersberg; some dragoons had been sent thither the day before.

Marechal Keith, with the regiment of Prince Charles and one batalion of grenadiers, marched on this side the Saal to Weisenfels; the march was tedious and painful, by reason of some defilés, particularly that at *Schonberg*.

The country about Weisenfels is very fine: the banks of the river very pretty, and covered with vines; the situation of the town extremely pleasant in a bottom; the Duke's palace, a very noble building, stands on the hill over the town; there are steps made from the town to mount to the palace.

Sunday, 22*nd*.—Marechal Keith left General Retzow in Weisenfels with 2 batalions, and marched this morning at 6 o'clock to Leipsick, through Lutzen, a small poor town, the road plain, the country rich and fertile. I was sorry I had not time to examine the field of battle at Lutzen where Gustavus Adolphus was killed; but as our army consisted only of one batalion, a few grenadiers and hussars, and we had a great deal of baggage and sick to convoy, besides three hundred prisoners, there was no time to gratify my curiosity, nor, indeed, was it safe to have attempted it, as the Austrian hussars showed themselves on our right separated only by a small brook, but they never attacked in the march to Weisenfels. My coach escaped very narrowly.

On my arrival here the Prince of Prussia told me that General Hadick had, on the 17th, been at Berlin and exacted a contribution of 200m crowns. Prince Moritz arrived there on the 18th, after very quick marches.

Sunday, 23*rd*.—I saw the town of Leipsick, which is one of the prettiest I ever saw—a large square in the center and very good houses—the streets go off at right angles, and are wider than those at Dresden; a

great many good houses are in the suburbs; the town itself is small, but fortified round; the fortifications in good order.

Monday, 24*th*.—We were alarmed with the approach of the Austrian hussars to the very gates of the town. Marechal Keith went himself with a few hussars and drove them off; and he immediately ordered Generals Forcade and Retzow to come with the troops under each of them from Mersberg and Weisenfels: King of Prussia was then at Hertzberg, 3 miles from Torgau. This day a trompet arrived from Prince de Hilbourghousen to summon the town. He had the usual answer that it would be defended to the last extremity. At this time the army of the Empire were distant only 3 or 4 miles from Leipsic, and the head of that of the French was at Grimma, 3 miles also from Leipsic.

I dispatched *Pollock* for England. Our strength in Leipsic was only one Saxon regiment, and the batalion which Marechal Keith led in.

25*th*.—General Retzow arrived from Weisenfels; the works were ordered to be repaired, and the town put in a posture of defence. Marechal Keith spoke to the magistrates to give notice to the inhabitants to withdraw their effects from their houses in the suburbs, and to prepare *fascines gaudronés*.

In the afternoon a Jew brought notice that the King was at *Eulenberg*, and would be in Leipsic next day.

Wednesday, 26*th*.—King of Prussia came into Leipsic with 4 batalions. I had an audience. He acquainted me with his scheme, about which he had wrote to the

King. General Retzow was sent to take possession of a village in the suburbs at the end of the causeway which leads towards Lutzen.

27*th.*—Prince Henry came in with 5 batalions from Eulenberg; in the afternoon Prince Moritz led in 8 batalions, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick * * the spirit of the soldiers was remarkable; they did not complain of fatigue, notwithstanding of the long marches, but desired to be led out immediately, and murmured on being ordered to quarters.

Total estimate of our force at Leipsic :—

	BAT.	SQUAD.	
Marechal Keith had after the return of General Forcade and Retzow . . .	7	5	Huss.
King of Prussia led	4	8	
Prince Moritz led	8	10	
Prince Henry	5	0	
Prince Ferdinand	7	10	
General Sedelitz	0	15	
	31	15	
General Hausen, Regiment in Leipsic . .	2	0	

Friday, 28*th.*—All ready to march; parties sent to reconnoitre towards Lutzen, report that the enemy are retired.

29*th.*—That report confirmed; King of Prussia very uneasy at the disappointment; stronger parties sent to reconnoitre, 4 batalions of grenadiers and 2m horse under General Sedelitz.

30*th.*—King of Prussia marched in the morning with all his troops towards *Lutzen*, he led the van; Marechal Keith followed at 8 o'clock; found no enemy at Lutzen.

31*st.*—Advanced towards Weisenfels ; Prince Henry detached with 10 batalions.

Tuesday, 1*st November.*—Heard that the French, &c., had broke the bridge at Weisenfels ; Prince Henry made 500 prisoners ; that Prince Moritz was detached to *Merseburg*, and Marechal Keith to *Hall.*

2*nd.*—That the King had sent for the pontoons.

3*rd.*—That the bridges were repaired at *Weisenfels* and *Merseburg* and *Hall.*

4*th.*—That the Prussians had passed the Saal at three different places, and were joined the night before ; that the King reconnoitred, but found the enemy too well posted to be attacked ; some cannon fired.

5*th.*—Same reports continued ; about 4 afternoon heard the firing of cannon ; the Prince of Prussia said it was only a cannonade of Meyer, but news came in the night that there had been an action.

6*th.*—Had an account of the battle, and Mr. Darcey returned from the field of battle ; I dispatched him in the afternoon to England by the way of Hamburg.

Monday, 7*th.*—Farther accounts of the particulars of the action.

8*th.*—King wrote to me to come to Merseburg to meet him and 3 French general officers ; I had much conversation with the King ; he consented to give Prince Ferdinand to command the Hanoverian army, but refused to send anybody to England to notify the victory, with this short answer: what have those people done for me? I pressed it again, and said they would do better, but still this made no impression ; what passed with Prince

Ferdinand, and with Count Schulemburg is narrated in my letters from Leipsick of the 11th; King went to Leipsic that night; I stayed at Meresburg and returned next morning to dine with the King; pressed him again to send to England, but all to no purpose; had conferences with Prince Ferdinand, Count Schulemburg, and in the afternoon saw Prince Henry.

Friday, 11*th*.—I prevailed with the King to send Major Grant to England to notify the victory, and I dispatched *Lambe* for England.

12*th*.—Prince of Brunswic communicated the plan he had formed to the King of Prussia; settled matters with Count Schulemburg; I pressed the King not to go into Silesia, but to push against the French.

Sunday, 13*th*.—King marched with his army towards Silesia, through Lusatia; orders were given to prepare quarters at Dresden, in order to mask and cover this march.

Conferred with Ferdinand and Count Schulemburg.

14*th*.—Wrote to England by Count Schulemburg, who set out this morning, as did also Prince Ferdinand for Magdebourg. I took leave of the Prince of Prussia, and visited Prince Henry.

15*th*.—Prince of Prussia set out for Berlin; more cannon brought into Leipsic.

16*th*.—Count Mailly, a Lieutenant-General, had leave to go, and set out for Paris for two months.

Prisoners brought from Meresburg, and more wounded. I remained at Leipsic by the King of Prussia's directions. When I insisted to accompany him, he told

me in a very obliging manner, that he wished it with all his heart, as he knew I was not difficult, and never complained of fatigue; but, added he, your couriers cannot follow with safety, by reason of the great number of Austrian irregulars. He then desired me to ask Monsieur Eichel for a cypher, and ordered his ministers at Magdebourg to correspond with me.

Here I passed many an anxious hour, as I feared the King would arrive too late to relieve Schweidnitz, (which, however, he reckoned he should certainly save, and spoke of it as certain), and I knew too well the consequence of a defeat, not to be under the deepest apprehensions. I made very few acquaintances, the chief of which were the Duchess Dowager of Courland, Professor Gotshed, who came to teach me the German language, and Monsieur Mascon, a very worthy, honest, learned man. He lent me books, and I used now and then to spend an hour with him in the evening. I enquired particularly of him about the history of Gustavus Adolphus. He recommended a small book for the history of those times entituled, *Epitome Rerum Germanicarum, ab* 1617 *ad* 1643 *gestarum*, 1662, *in* 12*mo*, and he lent me an English book, well wrote, entitled, *Memoirs of a Cavalier; or, A Military Journal of the Wars in Germany and the Wars in England, from* 1632 *to* 1648, *written* 60 *years ago, by an English gentleman, &c., &c.*, 8*vo*. *No year*.

I read also whilst I was at Leipsic Professor Mascon's History of the Antient Germans, translated

by Lediard, and well done. I bought it in the German language.

N.B.—See the Book of Relations, No. 9, where the King of Prussia's march into Silesia is described, and No. 10, an account of the battle of *Lissa*.

Having marked every thing that occurred during my stay at Leipsic in my letters to Lord Holdernesse, I refer to them, and shall only mention the dates of some remarkable events.

19*th*.—Reported that Schweidnitz was taken.

20*th*.—News of the surrender of Schweidnitz confirmed.

26*th*.—Had news that the Duke of Bevern had defeated the Austrians.

28*th*.—Began to be doubted.

30*th*.—We were informed that Bevern was beat.

December 4*th*.—Letters from the King of Prussia confirming this; they were dated 30th November and 1st December from *Parkwitz*.

7*th*.—Letters from King of Prussia at Parkwitz on the 3rd instant.

9*th*.—A chasseur arrived with news of a compleat victory obtained on the 5th at *Lissa*.

I gave notice of this victory by an estaffette to General Yorke. The manner of sending it was this. I wrote a short note to Colonel Yorke, and had the King of Prussia's letter and this note translated into Hebrew by Ephraim the Jew, who forwarded them to Amsterdam to his correspondent there, who had orders forthwith to send an express to Monsieur Boaz, at the Hague, to

whom Ephraim's letter was addressed. Boaz had directions to translate them and carry them immediately to Mr. Yorke. Sent at the time an estaffette to Mr. Stanhope, at Hambourg, with the same news.

In the evening, one of the King of Prussia's pages arrived with a confirmation. Confirmed by private letters, and by letters from the King of the 10th and 12th.

18*th.*—Received the King of Prussia's relation of this ever memorable battle.

23*rd.*—Had notice of the surrender of Breslaw.

29*th.*—Arrived at Berlin without stopping; the weather extremely cold.

CHAPTER X.

DISPATCHES AND CORRESPONDENCE—CAMPAIGN OF 1758—GENERAL YORKE'S MISSION TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA—INVASION OF MORAVIA—SIEGE OF OLMUTZ—BATTLE OF ZORNDORFF—BATTLE OF HOCHKIRCH—SIEGE OF DRESDEN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the gigantic efforts made by Frederic, the numbers and resources of his enemies as compared with his own begin to tell against him; and every year, while it diminishes the resources of his devastated country, and the numbers not merely of his soldiers but of his best officers, increases the toils and hardships of himself and all who are with him. This becomes signally and even painfully evident in Mitchell's letters and journals of this and the two subsequent years. In this campaign Frederic was much less prosperous than in the last. Obliged to raise the siege of Olmutz, he retreated, though with the greatest order, through Moravia and Bohemia, and fought the sanguinary battle of Zorndorff, where the Russians, notwithstanding all they suffered, formed a hollow square, and remained long immoveable, and then retired in good order. Then the battle of Hochkirch was a serious blow to him.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Breslaw, Wednesday, 1st Feb., 1758.

My Lord,

I have delivered the King's letter of notification to the King of Prussia transmitted to me in your Lordship's of the 3rd January, and that for the Queen of Prussia I put into the hands of Count Finkenstein, who has forwarded it to Berlin.

The behaviour of the French in the town and country of Halberstadt has been attended with as many aggravating circumstances as can well be imagined, (and greatly exceeds for cruelty and wanton inhumanity everything that has been done since the beginning of this war by both sides). They have heightened the most barbarous acts of licentious pillaging by their insolence, and sure if anything can open the eyes of the German princes (leagued together for their own destruction), the late proceedings of this faithfull guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia must shew that the real intention of the French is to spread ruin and desolation over Germany; but I need not be more particular in describing their horrid transactions, as I have seen a very distinct account of them printed in a German Gazette, which I hope will be in England long before this letter can reach your Lordship.

Princess Amelia, the King of Prussia's sister, has been here about a week. She will return to Berlin in a few days; and Prince Ferdinand of Prussia is quite recovered from a very dangerous sickness he was seized with

towards the end of the campaign. That Prince served under the Duke of Bevern, and greatly distinguished himself in the action of the 22nd November before Breslaw, and at the battle of Lissa (Leuthen).

There rages in this town an universal sickness, and a great mortality among the citizens as well as the soldiers, occasioned, as is said, by a dangerous and malignant fever, transplanted from Hungary and the borders of Turkey by the irregular troops in the Empress Queen's service, and increased, I suppose, by the number of people crowded together, and by the great fatigues of the last campaign.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private and very secret.][1]

Breslaw, Thursday, 9th Feb., 1758.

MY LORD,

That your Lordship may be the better enabled to judge whether I have strictly obeyed the directions contained in your Lordship's letter of the 12th December, I shall trouble you with a detail of all the particulars that passed in the different conversations I have had with his Prussian Majesty, upon the two important points of sending a fleet into the Baltick, and national troops into Germany.

Upon the first point, concerning the sending of a

[1] By some oversight, these marks, affixed to certain of the Letters and Dispatches, have been hitherto omitted.

fleet into the Baltick, I displayed all the arguments your Lordship was pleased to suggest arising from the different and distant services at this time required of the navy of England, and, after assuring his Prussian Majesty that it was not from any partial view to any power whatever, I endeavoured to shew the absolute impossibility there was of furnishing a squadron adequate to the service, which was the sole reason that hindered his Majesty from complying with this request.

His Prussian Majesty said that he had observed all along there had been too much ménagement shewn to Russia, as if we were afraid to offend them; that perhaps this gentle manner of negociating was not the way to succeed at the Court of Petersbourg, but he would not so much as guess at the motives; that when he entered into treaty with the King he did believe that the English interest was stronger at that Court than it has been found to be, and that it would have been supported in a better manner. I made the best answer I could, but it did not satisfy; it is not worth transmitting to your Lordship; and I find his Prussian Majesty still thinks that the sending of a very small squadron last year would have prevented all the misfortune that happened in Prussia during the late campaign.

As to the second point, of sending national troops into Germany, when I urged the impossibility of raising more men without ruining the manufactures, he laughed, and said it was a strange way of reasoning, to prefer considerations of trade and manufactures to our own security and independency; that we did not seem sensible

enough of the danger to which England was exposed; if things went wrong upon the Continent, that it was impossible for him to resist the united forces of all Europe.

I then mentioned the smallness of the number of troops that England could spare in its present situation, and begged his Prussian Majesty to consider whether the receiving of succours in another shape, with the unanimous consent, not only of the Parliament, but of the nation, was not more for the interest of the common cause than by insisting upon a measure about which there were differences of opinion, (as there had ever been with regard to the expediency of sending English troops upon the Continent), to run the risk of breaking that harmony which now so happily subsisted between the King's ministers and the nation; that the carrying of this measure into execution would most certainly destroy that unanimity in Parliament which made the people of England submit cheerfully to the heaviest loads that could be laid upon them.

The King of Prussia answered, he had no notion, if the case was fairly stated, that there could be one contradictory vote. He then mentioned what England had done in the War of the Succession, and in the late war, and concluded by saying that the necessity of sending troops upon the Continent was now much stronger than it had ever been on any former occasion, nor did he think it practicable to do without them; that even so small a number as 8_m would make a great impression upon the French, as it would convince them and all Europe besides, that England was hearty and

resolved rather to risk everything than to submit; and he added that an effort of this kind might likewise facilitate operations in America, as it would give the French full occupation at home.

I then endeavoured to shew the incompatibility of this measure with the services in America, which required constant supplies of men. His Prussian Majesty replied with some warmth, sure the way to save America is not to suffer the French to become masters of Europe, which they will be, if your nation does not exert itself with the utmost vigour and activity in the next campaign, by land as well as by sea.

When I reflect upon some former conversations I have had with the King of Prussia, concerning the sending of English troops upon the Continent, I cannot help suspecting that his ministers have worked him up to this degree of obstinacy, (which, I believe, they are now sorry for), as it certainly is one of the reasons of his refusing to sign the Convention. I am the more inclined to be of this opinion, because, just after my arrival at Breslaw, I had prevailed with his Prussian Majesty to take back a very strong memorial, which he had drawn up on the subject, and desired me to transmit to England. After this, I thought I should hear no more of that matter, but, unhappily, the news from Prussia awakened all his fears, and gave occasion at least to the strong declarations he has since made.

As I could give no expectation that English troops would be sent, I hinted, that perhaps it might be possible to reinforce his Majesty's army with some Danish troops.

The King of Prussia said he knew for certain that we should not succeed in any negociation with Denmark; that we might indeed amuse ourselves from time to time, as we had done in renewing our offers to that Court, but he was persuaded they would be to no purpose; and after repeating what he had formerly said of the impression that the sending even of a small body of English troops would make upon the French, he added, if anything can, this measure will induce the Dutch to join in the alliance, and to give assistance.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private and secret.]

Breslaw, Thursday, the 9th February, 1758.

MY LORD,

The letter inclosed, from Mr. Keith, will give your Lordship an account of the audience he had of the King of Prussia, who told him fairly, that money was the only thing that would do at the Court of Petersbourg, and that if he was not authorised to spend money his mission would be of no avail. I hope, therefore, the necessary orders will be given for that purpose.

As in this audience the King of Prussia said that he was willing to make peace with the Russians, I took the liberty to ask, if the Russians could be brought to mediate a peace whether it would be agreeable. He answered, by no means; "I am willing to make a

separate peace with them, but will have none of their mediation."

I mention this particular, as it may be of use in the instructions to be given to Mr. Keith, and I am sorry that the King of Prussia has so far altered his way of thinking, as to refuse the mediation of Russia, if it could be procured; but I do not wonder at it, after the unprovoked hostilities committed on their part, and the new irruption they have made into Prussia, which naturally indisposes his Prussian Majesty from having any confidence in that Court.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private and most secret.]

Breslaw, 9th Feb., 1758.

MY LORD,

I cannot sufficiently thank your Lordship for the real marks of genuine friendship contained in your *private and most secret letter* of the 21st December, and I submit to many of your Lordship's observations, from reason more than from authority.

I am particularly obliged to your Lordship for avoiding to produce such parts of my dispatch as were improper; but after reading over every thing, I must fairly say, that I can find neither inconsistency nor contradiction in my whole correspondence, and your Lordship will pardon the liberty I take to point out the mistake from which the charge of seeming inconsistency arises.

Your Lordship says that between the 28th November and the 5th December, no event had happened that can justify what I have wrote.

Now, my Lord, it is that very event which justifies me. The 28th of November I believed the Duke of Bevern had beat the Austrians, and I hoped the King's approach would have enabled him to pursue and improve that victory, but even then, from my knowledge of the King of Prussia's strength and situation, I thought it impossible for him to spare troops for the defence of Hanover. But when I wrote to your Lordship of the 5th December, I knew that not only the Duke of Bevern had been beat, and the town of Breslaw abandoned, but that the King of Prussia was marching with a handfull of men firmly resolved to attack his enemy wherever he found them.

In this state of despair, founded on reason and probability, I poured out my soul in the *private cyphered letter* to your Lordship, which was never meant to agree with the public letter of that date. And however I may have expressed myself in that or other letters to your Lordship, I have since that the satisfaction of being thanked for my behaviour at Leipzig, *quia de Republica non desperavi.*

With regard to the efforts made by England during the last campaign, I have no doubt of the best and most sincere intentions of the administration ; but I could have wished that your Lordship had viewed those efforts from this side of the water, and then to have known your real opinion.

I trust to your Lordship's candour and friendship in the freedom I have used, and I most sincerely wish you may never know danger, but as you did the last, when it was passed.

Accept of my most sincere thanks for the private letter, in your hand, of the 12th December. Monsieur Schulembourg is too gratefull for the few services I did him, but above all, I am obliged to your Lordship for the *private and confidential letter* from Sion Hill, which lets me into a scene of a most extraordinary nature, in which the greatest satisfaction I have is that your Lordship has acted with so much wisdom, honour, and steadiness, as must make you happy and respectable to your last moment. If my curiosity be not improper, pray tell me what part Lord Granville took on that occasion. Your silence is the cause of my suspicion.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Most private.]

Breslaw, 9th Feb., 1758.

MY LORD,

The King of Prussia was so nettled at the refusal of troops, fleets, &c., that he said to me in private that he thought of sending another minister, and asked me if I knew Monsieur Michel. I answered I did, and that I very much doubted if his Majesty could be more zealously, more ably, or more honestly served by another. I afterwards spoke to Monsieur Eichel to prevent the

sending of any other. I found him well disposed, and I was glad to have it in my power to do justice to Monsieur Michel's real merit.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private.]

Breslaw, 9th Feb., 1758.

MY LORD,

I send your Lordship eight silver medals, which I have procured from Berlin. The device upon the reverse is copied exactly from a medal struck at Vienna after the battle of Colin in June last. I beg your Lordship will give one, with my compliments, to the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Granville, and Mr. Pitt. I have told the Duke of Newcastle that if there had been any struck of a baser metal I would have sent them to the ministers for their usage of me, for I find at the end of last year I have spent upwards of 2000*l.* more than my appointments, including the expence of my field equipage.

The King of Prussia was so well disposed at first to sign the Convention, that he asked this question: What present it was customary to make to ministers on such occasions? I told his Majesty that I really did not know what was the custom, nor did I believe that I was entitled to any. He directed me to inquire, so your Lordship will send me your advice and directions upon this point. My own opinion is this. If it has been

usual and an established custom, I have no objection. But I do not desire to have a precedent made for me, and I would rather never receive any money but from the hands of my own sovereign.

As the King of Prussia has rested his refusal upon a point of honour, I wish he could be vanquished by the mark of honour and confidence I have hinted at in my *secret letter;* I think it would fix him for ever, and it will be attended with no sort of risk; the bare declaration of a million would make a great impression on his Prussian Majesty, and on all Europe besides.

This courier carries the full powers to Monsieur Michel, and an order at the same time not to sign, as the King of Prussia had signed the full powers some time ago; I perceived he thought they were already sent to England; when I told this to his Ministers they agreed to send them, but desired it might be kept secret.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

[Private p. m.[2]]

Breslaw, 9th Feb., 1758.

MY LORD,

I had the honour of your Grace's letter of the 8th December, by Major Grant, and, in a very few days after, that of the 23rd December, by Monot. I have obeyed your Grace's instructions most punctually in everything, but as the King of Prussia declines

[2] *i.e.* propriâ manu.

signing the Convention, for reasons which I have particularly mentioned in my secret letter to Lord Holdernesse, I need not here repeat them again. I shall only say that I was greatly surprised and shocked at the King of Prussia's flying off upon my making the most just and reasonable insinuation, and in the gentlest terms.

But this is not owing to one but to many concurrent causes. His Ministers had worked him up to insist on English troops; the demands he had made for a fleet into the Baltic, and for troops to be sent into Germany, had just been refused, and most unhappily, to crown all, the Russians had taken possession of Königsberg. All these, joined to the nice sense he has of honour,[3] and the noted aversion he has to subsidies, have operated this refusal, which it is impossible fully to explain without entering too far into the King of Prussia's character. All I shall say is that such a mixture of delicate honour and caprice never dwelt together in one breast.

Though he will not sign the Convention he is at this instant, if I am not misinformed, doing more than could either have been asked or expected. Besides a very considerable reinforcement of dragoons and hussars from Marechal Lehwald's army, under the command of the Duke of Holstein, to assist Prince Ferdinand, he is making a very powerful diversion in the country of

[3] One must suppose from this, that at this time Mitchell was but imperfectly acquainted with the King of Prussia's character, of which honour (in the sense in which such men as Mitchell and his friends, the Lord President Forbes and Marshal Keith, understood the word) could hardly be said to be a prominent feature, if it belonged to it at all.

Halberstadt, no less than 12 or 14m men, which it is said will be led by his brother, Prince Henry; but he must be suffered to go on in his own way, and I firmly believe with this indulgence he will do more and better for the common cause than if he was bound by the most explicit stipulations.

The hint I have flung out in my secret letter I wish may be to your Grace's liking and practicable; such a mark of national confidence will bind the King of Prussia more strongly than ten treaties, and if it is agreed to, I wish the round million was voted; this will please his vanity, will make an impression upon the rest of Europe, and can be attended with no risk, for the money remains in your Grace's keeping and under your controul, and perhaps may never be wanted, as I am convinced the King of Prussia will accept of no subsidies but in the case of the last extremity.

As to the remitting of the money whenever the case shall exist, I am humbly of opinion that your Grace should take it upon yourself to have it done in the usual manner. I have already explained that matter to his Prussian Majesty and his Ministers, but it never became matter of discussion, as we stuck upon the first point.

I believe the King of Prussia's dispositions for peace are still as strong as ever, but he has too much sense and too much *fierté* to discover them when there appears nothing reciprocal on the part of his enemies. I still think, was it possible for the Court of Vienna to be reasonable and detached from France, there would be facility found on the part of his Prussian Majesty,

who wishes for nothing so much as an opportunity to humble that haughty power, against whom he is most cordially provoked.

I send by Lady Holdernesse a medal to the best Prussian in England, as your Grace has styled my Lady Duchess, and your Grace will do me the honour to accept of one in silver. Had there been any struck in a baser metal I would have sent them to your Ministers, who have all used me ill. Upon casting up my accounts spent at the end of the year 1757, I find I have upwards of 2000*l.* more than my appointments, and that without pleasure, play, or ostentation. This is no agreeable situation, and I hope your Grace will soon relieve me.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private and particular.]

Breslaw, Thursday, 9th February, 1758.

MY LORD,

In several conversations the King of Prussia has thrown out hints how easy he thought it for the English to make a descent of 20 or 25m men at *Boulogne*, *Calais*, or *Port l'Orient*, which, if well conducted by a bold and enterprising officer, might lay the city of Paris under contribution; that an attempt of this kind, if successfull, would greatly contribute to bring about a peace, as it would throw everything into confusion, the

French having very few troops at home, and those greatly scattered.

I only said, that I believed there wanted not inclination in the English to do all the mischief to the French, wherever it was practicable. He replied there were many things practicable which they did not so much as attempt; and that he hoped, however, as soon as the season permitted, we would at least give all the uneasiness and jealousy possible to the French, by either actually making, or seeming to make, embarkations for a descent somewhere in France. This, he said, could not fail to have a good effect; that by constantly alarming their coasts they might be induced to draw off 20 or perhaps 30m from their armies.[4]

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private. p. m.]

Breslaw, Wednesday, 15th February, 1758.

MY LORD,

I forgot to acquaint your Lordship in my dispatches by Monot, that the King of Prussia has several

[4] To render this letter consistent with Mitchell's severe remarks on the abortive expedition against Rochefort, planned by Pitt in July, 1757, though the fleet did not sail till September of that year (see Mitchell's letter to Lord Holdernesse, of date 1st Nov., 1757), it must be assumed that the sort of expedition contemplated by Frederic was very different from that planned by Pitt, and executed by the officers he selected. Frederic seems to have meant that they should make a dash at Paris.

times mentioned the difficulty there is of getting good English horses (which he esteems, and prefers to all others). The kind he uses is of the large sort, about 15 hands or upwards, with strong bones and easy motions, and what he calls the ancient race of English horses, (for he does not like the fine delicate and slight kind). He has generally been supplied by *Castle*, the dealer, and the price he gives for each, delivered at Potsdam, is about 75*l.*

I believe such horses as the King of Prussia likes, may be purchased in England at from 40*l.* to 60*l.* each. Now, my Lord, if the King should think proper to send over twenty or thirty horses, so soon as the season will permit, I am persuaded this mark of attention would please; and trifles, your Lordship knows, sometimes operate on the greatest minds.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The Earl of Holdernesse to Mr. Mitchell.

Whitehall, February 17th, 1758.

SIR,

His Majesty, having judged it necessary for his service to send a minister to the King of Prussia directly from hence, fully instructed as to the King's views in the present conjuncture of affairs, and his Majesty having upon this occasion cast his eye upon Major-General Yorke, I am directed to acquaint you that orders were sent to him on Tuesday last forthwith to repair to

London, there to receive his Majesty's final commands, and as every thing will be prepared that shall be found necessary for his information, his stay here will be short. I am likewise commanded to signify to you his Majesty's farther pleasure, that you should prepare for your returning to England, but it is the King's intention you should not leave the place of the King of Prussia's residence till General Yorke's arrival, by whom you will receive your letters of revocation.

I am, with great truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HOLDERNESSE.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Breslaw, Sunday, the 12th March, 1758.

MY LORD,

Lambe, the messenger, arrived here last Thursday, the 9th, with your Lordship's dispatches of the 25th February, which I have communicated to the King of Prussia in the manner I was directed.

As to the contents of the dispatches, I shall only observe (your Lordship having so fully instructed me before), that the very arguments made use of in the translated letter were those by which I had prevailed with the King of Prussia to take back a memorial which he had given me to send to England, as mentioned in my *private and very secret* letter of the 9th February to your Lordship.

With regard to that part of the letter which is personal to me, I submit: my Sovereign has decided, and it does not become me to reason, far less to murmur, as I return with pleasure, conscious of having done what I thought my duty, and happy in seeing the King's countries delivered from cruel oppression, the oppressors punished by the total ruin and dispersion of their army, and his Prussian Majesty's affairs in a prosperous situation.

Prince Henry writes to his brother, of the 3rd inst., from the head quarter near *Hildisheim*, that the French were retiring in the greatest confusion; that they left numbers of sick in every town; that they had abandoned *Minden*, and had lost a great deal of baggage and some artillery; that many of the French soldiers threw down their arms and refused to follow; that upon the intelligence he had that the army of Prince de Soubise was likewise retreating in a hurry, he, Prince Henry, had sent a small detachment towards Duderstadt, to accelerate their motions, and he adds, that he hopes, in three weeks, there would not be a Frenchman in Westphalia, except in the *Pais de Cleves*, and concludes with saying, he thinks the French have already lost more men in this retreat than they would have done in a battle.

Since I wrote to your Lordship of the 8th, there are no letters from Prince Ferdinand, but the King of Prussia seems perfectly pleased with that Prince's conduct, and he continues to write to him frequently.

The King of Prussia will leave this place the 14th or

15th. Several regiments having already filed off towards Schweidnitz, it is thought that the trenches will be opened about the 20th, though the weather is by no means favourable.

The French have carried off hostages from several places, as securities that the sick they have left shall not be made prisoners; but the King of Prussia says, as this proceeding is contrary to the laws and usages of war, he will not submit to it, but will detain all the sick taken by his troops as prisoners of war.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Most secret.]

Breslaw, Wednesday, 15th March, 1758.

MY LORD,

Yesterday the King of Prussia called me into his closet, and told me that he had once thought of answering your Lordship's letter of the 25th February, (the translation of which I was directed to deliver), but that upon reflection, he thought it better not to make any answer, for, says he, "you must be sensible I could easily give an answer, but I shall then be obliged to mention several things, that will not be agreeable; and it is my opinion, that the fewer explanations there are between friends and allies, it is always the better, and this I desire you will say to your Court by way of answer."

His Prussian Majesty said, "Knyphausen is set out for

England. I have empowered him to sign the Convention upon two condition: 1st, that the money be deposited, and, 2nd, that his Majesty augment his army in Hanover." His Prussian Majesty added, "and I have directed Knyphausen to do you justice," to which I made no reply, but only thanked his Prussian Majesty. This is all I have been able to learn of the commission with which Baron Knyphausen is charged.

As Monsieur de Knyphausen has been several years at Paris, he can give your Lordship a good account of France, and I think him an honest man, and well disposed, so that I hope his mission will do no harm; but as I believe his stay will not be long, it may be worth while to keep him from bad company, which sometimes beset foreign ministers in order to mislead them. I have ventured to hint to him in general, that the corps diplomatique in England are not all sound.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private, 4°.]

Breslaw, Wednesday, 15th March, 1758.

MY LORD,

Knyphausen came to me on Monday morning desiring some letters for England, which I have promised to send him to Berlin. I asked no questions as to the object of his mission, but recommended to him strongly to follow your Lordship's advice, and to live well with Monsieur Michel. which he seems

disposed to do. He told me he had read Monsieur Michel's last dispatch, and that the King of Prussia was well pleased with it, and he believed his, Knyphausen's, stay would be short. This has likewise been confirmed to me by Monsieur Eichel, who is sincerely Monsieur Michel's friend.

Knyphausen may be easily managed, but it imports that he should receive no false impressions either of the state or strength of the nation, nor of the ministers, for what he reports will stick with the King of Prussia. I know this by experience. I have had long and hard labour to eradicate some absurd observations which Colonel Lentulus made in England, and which he had, unfortunately, communicated to his master before I saw him.

As I am now almost a private man I can speak more freely. The present to be made to Knyphausen on the signing of the treaty should be handsome, and I hope Monsieur Michel will not suffer by it.

My situation is now very disagreeable (though the King of Prussia's goodness towards me increases, I have had great difficulty to keep him cool). I wish Colonel Yorke was arrived.

I have much to say to you at Zion Hill, as I have avoided telling you many anecdotes. One, however, I will communicate.

After the battle of Rosbach of the 5th November, his Prussian Majesty was in so bad humour he refused three several times to send anybody to England to notify that victory with this short answer, "What have

they done for me?" I still persisted, and renewed my solicitation the next day, and after having exhausted all my store of arguments began to despair, but luckily the next day he called me into his closet, and said, I have reflected on what you have suggested, and will send Grant to England. This is the true reason why Grant was dispatched only the seventh day after the battle.

I had two reasons for not mentioning this at that time. I feared it would have raised a jealousy and suspicion of the King of Prussia in England, which I should not be able to get the better of, and I was afraid that even your Lordship would have considered what I wrote as a panegyrick upon myself, which you know ought never to be made till after death; but as the farce is near ending, you will pardon this anticipation, and the King of Prussia can no longer be suspected after the generous assistance he has given to his Majesty.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private, p.m.]

Breslaw, 25th March, 1758.

MY LORD,

As the operations are already begun, if the General does not arrive soon, he will lose a part of his education.

I have little to say, only the inclosed for Mr. Pitt

contains a preservative against the gout, which (was) sent to me sealed up with an anonymous note. Perhaps I have done wrong, and it was my duty to have averred that Mr. Pitt never had the gout; but I am in the way of blundering, and I will continue affectionately yours.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Breslaw, Sunday, 26th March, 1758.

MY LORD,

Though the distance from hence to Schweidnitz is but seven miles,[5] we have no accounts of the progress of the siege. The King of Prussia continues still at Grüssau, near Landshut, and all is very quiet in that quarter. He has been a little indisposed for some days past, but we have accounts this morning that he is perfectly well recovered.

Lieutenant-General Fouquet has drove the Austrians out of the county of Glatz, and followed them as far as *Grülich*, in Bohemia. As they retired with great precipitation, he would have followed them farther, but found the roads extremely difficult, almost impracticable. He has taken the baggage of General Jahnus, and 200 other baggage waggons, killed a good many pandours, and made 200 soldiers and 4 officers prisoners.

Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick has taken Minden, in which it is said there are 2 generals, 4 brigadiers, 2 colonels, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 4 majors, 198 captains

[5] Unless English miles are specified the miles mentioned in these dispatches are German miles—a German mile being equal to about 5 English.

and commanders of batalions, 123 lieutenants and ensigns, 497 bas officers, 2971 infantry, 497 cavalry, 38 iron cannons, and 9 of brass, the kettle drums of two regiments of cavalry, 8 standarts, 19 colours, 51 barrels powder, besides other warlike stores, and 13.497 sacks of meal, a great quantity of fascines, 8 magazines of straw and as many of hay. This is the substance of a note I received this morning from Mr. Eichel, which concludes with these words :—The avant-garde commanded by the Prince of Holstein, continues to push the French with vivacity, and Prince Ferdinand is already six miles from *Minden*. The French have abandoned *Hameln* and *Paderborn*, and retire with the greatest precipitation towards the Rhyne, and into the *Pays de Munster*. In the country of Hesse the French labour night and day to pack up and send off their baggage.

The Post Master gave me notice that he had directions to send all letters for Holland by the way of Hamburg, as the post by Emmerick is no longer reckoned safe, since the retreat of the French army.

I am, &c..

AND^R^. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse

Landshut, Thursday, 13*th April,* 1758.

MY LORD,

Last Sunday, the 9th, General Yorke and Sir John Goodricke arrived here, and I had the honour to present them the next day to the King of Prussia at

Grüssau. As they will give your Lordship an account of what passed then, and since, in the different conferences they have had with his Prussian Majesty, it is needless, and indeed would be improper, in my situation, to say anything of it.

General Yorke delivered to me your Lordship's letter of the 16th March, in which were inclosed the King's letter of revocation, and the recredentials to the King and Queen of Prussia.

By the advice of General Yorke I have not yet delivered the recredentials to the King of Prussia, but am ready to do it the moment he thinks it should.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private, p.m.]

Neiss, 26th April, 1758.

MY LORD,

I am much obliged to your Lordship for the kind and friendly letter of the 13th, by Blackmore; the advice it contains is entirely agreeable to the plan I had proposed for my conduct in England, and I can with truth assure you, I never had a doubt for one moment of your Lordship's friendship.

As General Yorke has explained to you the reasons for my continuing with the army, I shall say nothing of them.

My situation at present is very aukward, and would have been disagreeable, but General Yorke's arrival and

his behaviour since, has made everything easy, and I am persuaded what has passed between him and the King of Prussia will be of the greatest service to the common cause. His Prussian Majesty has in private to me and in the strongest manner expressed the satisfaction he had in the frequent conversations with the General.

I cannot conclude this letter without acquainting your Lordship that I am under the greatest obligations to General Yorke for his candid, friendly and fair behaviour towards me. He has explained many things which I could not have guessed at ; in return I have been open and free with him, and will trust everything to the report he shall make.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Gross Latein, Friday the 9th June, 1758.

MY LORD,

Cleverly the messenger arrived here the 7th instant, and delivered your Lordship's letter of the 11th May, signifying to me his Majesty's pleasure that I should remain his minister to the King of Prussia untill the King's future intentions are made known to me. And that I should resume the correspondence and other parts of the service, so soon as Major-General Yorke shall have taken his leave.

In obedience to your Lordship's directions, I send

inclosed, the revocation and recredentials transmitted to me in your Lordship's letter of the 16th March.

Your Lordship has likewise inclosed a letter I lately received from Mr. Corry, of Dantzig, and I hope my last letter to your Lordship of the 28th May, which contained some letters from that gentleman, and one from Mr. Keith, has come safe to hand.

I propose to write regularly once a week to your Lordship, and oftener if occasions offer; but your Lordship will not be surprised if several weeks should pass without your hearing from me, as the mountains between Moravia and Silesia, through which the posts must pass, are occupied by the Austrian light troops, which renders all communication very difficult and uncertain.

General Yorke will leave this place to-morrow, and is most capable to inform your Lordship of every thing that has passed here. He has been received by the King of Prussia in a very distinguished manner, and will be accompanied to Troppau by a strong escorte sent on purpose to attend him.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

The preceding letter to Lord Holdernesse was recommended to Major-General Yorke's care, who set out from Gross Latein on Saturday the 10th of June, 1758.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private, p.m.]

Gross Latein, in Moravia, the 10th June, 1758.

My Lord,

I return your Lordship my most hearty thanks for your kind and friendly letter of the 11th May. I do not care to think, much less to write, of what has passed with regard to myself. The case is new, and will not bear a discussion. I have nothing to reproach myself with but an honest zeal, animated with the immediate view of danger, and meant to rouse, not to provoke any man.

General Yorke is very well pleased with the reception he has met with from his Prussian Majesty, and he and I have lived and parted good friends, which is not always the case with heirs apparent.

Marshall[6] defends himself well at Olmutz. We hope by the 24th to be masters of it. But if that should not happen till the end of the month, we have no reason to complain.

Daun has not yet shown himself, and every day we gather strength. A convoy of seven thousand waggons has just past the mountains untouched and unattempted. This greatly amazes all our officers, and occasions reflections which I need not suggest.

I have again wrote to the Duke of Newcastle about

[6] The Austrian General who commanded in Olmutz. Marechal Keith conducted the siege for the King of Prussia.

money. Pray put him in mind. It is hard to be ill-used and ill-payed at the same time.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

[p.m.]

Gross Latein, in Moravia, 10th June, 1758.

MY LORD,

Since my letter of the 9th of February last, I have not been honoured with any letter from your Grace, which I confess, in the situation I have been in for some months past, has greatly surprised, and would have discouraged me, if I had not reflected on the many marks I have had of your Grace's friendship, as well as on my own conduct towards your Grace, in which, after the strictest examination, I can not find that I have failed in one single instance in the duty which I heartily owe to your Grace.

I will not conceal from your Grace that some words in your letter to General Yorke gave me uneasiness, "that the King's ministers to the King of Prussia had drank of the waters of Lethe." I can, with truth, assure your Grace, that if you could have heard some conversations I have had with the King of Prussia, you would not have accused me of forgetting; and your Grace must have been highly pleased with the hearty praises that monarch bestowed on the present administration in England, for the manly and vigourous measures they pursue in the year 1758, nor is he unin-

formed of the share your Grace takes in them. But my Lord, all this happened whilst it was improper for me to write.

However sensible I am of the usage I have met with, it is with pleasure that I acknowledge the satisfaction I have in General Yorke's mission, which I hope will strengthen and consolidate the alliance between his Majesty and the King of Prussia. And the general's friendly behaviour to me in particular was such as cannot soon be forgotten. He was pleased to tell me in the King's own words his Majesty's sentiments of my conduct. And give me leave to say, they were the best and most pleasing words I ever heard. What joy I felt on this occasion your Grace can better imagine from your own experience, than it is possible for me to describe in words.

I mentioned to your Grace in my letter of the 9th February, that at the end of the year 1757 I had expended upwards of 2000*l.* over and above my appointments; and besides what I have laid out for special messengers, expresses, and estaffettes, which is not considerable. Let me once more entreat your Grace to enable me to pay my debts, and to move his Majesty, since it is his pleasure that I should continue here, that he will be graciously pleased to put me for the future upon such a footing that I may live without that anxiety of mind which naturally haunts an honest man in debt.

I ever am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private and secret, 4°.]

Konigin-Grats, Friday, 14th July, 1758.

My Lord,

As we are disappointed of the magazines of flour, it is believed our stay here will be very short, and that we must get into Silesia either by the county of Glatz or by Landshut, in order to find subsistence for the army.

About two months provision of flour was destroyed before Olmutz, for want of carriages to bring it off, and, though our march to this place has succeeded beyond expectation, yet many of the officers think it has been made with too much precipitation.

Marshall Daun's conduct receives great applause. He has fairly duped the King of Prussia, and passed the marshy banks of the river *Morava* at *Tobitschau* to *Prerau* with his whole army upon four bridges of boats in the face of the Prussians, encamped within the distance of one mile. He amused his Prussian Majesty with false alarms at *Kostelitz* and at *Prostnitz* on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of June, whilst his army was passing. Had the King of Prussia then attacked, one half, or at least the rear guard of the Austrian army, must have been destroyed.

In this army the spies are paid too sparingly, consequently the intelligence is none of the best, and when there comes intelligence, which does not agree with the hypothesis we have formed, that intelligence is little regarded ; this appears plain in the present case, for

the King of Prussia imagined, that if the Austrians attempted to pass the *Morava*, it would be at Kogetin and Kremsir, where the passage is easier.

Upon the whole, this unhappy affair will entirely alter the nature of the war, and soon render it entirely defensive on the side of the King of Prussia, and very embarrassing if the Russians (encouraged by what has happened) should be induced to march into Silesia.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Most secret.]

Head quarters at Jessenitz in Bohemia, one mile from Nachod, Monday, 31st July, 1758.

MY LORD,

Two days ago his Prussian Majesty was pleased to communicate to me (under the strongest charge of secrecy) a project he had lately received for a separate peace with France. He declined telling me from whom it came, and when I showed little curiosity to know, he said it was from a person well intentioned, but that he was bound to secrecy.

The King of Prussia then gave me the paper to read in his presence, but refused giving a copy or an extract for fear, he said, of hurting the person from whom it came, whom he was obliged to manage.

The substance of this project I shall give your Lordship with all the exactness of memory, for I was not even suffered to take a note.

It begins with a very long preamble, filled with common-place arguments against wars and the effusion of human blood, which the author assures were his only motives for offering this project.

To avoid difficulties of who should make the first step, he lays down that this project should be supposed to come from neither side, and that if it is not approved of by both, it should be considered as never having existed, and absolute secrecy is enjoined.

The articles it contains consisted of eight or ten, of which there appeared to me to be only four that were material :—

1st. The Treaty of Westphalia is assumed for the basis of the treaty.

2nd. The Treaties of Dresden and Breslaw are confirmed in their full extent.

3rd. Saxony to be restored, and an Indemnification is demanded either in money or in cession of territory.

4th. That the King of Prussia should endeavour to reconcile France and England, and France on her part will use her efforts to make peace between the House of Austria and Prussia ; and when this peace is made, in order to render it unlike to every other, that is to say, eternal, it is proposed that England, France, Russia, and Sweden should be, not only guarantees, but arbitrators of all differences that may arise between the House of Austria and the King of Prussia for the future.

His Prussian Majesty then put into my hands a note

of the answer he intended to make to the project, which is as follows, in his own words :

"*Extrait de la Reponse au Projet.*

"Que les deux points principaux et essentiels qui avoient motivés la guerre presente n'etoient point touché dans le projet savoir les affaires d'Amerique, qui cependant faisoient un grand objet a l'Angleterre, dont je ne saurois ni voudrois jamais abandonner les interets. Que d'ailleurs le projet ne comprenoit rien des cessions ou possessions des places de la Flandre, que les Francois avoient obtenues de la Cour de Vienne, et qu'au surplus on n'y avoit point songé ni a ce qui regardoit proprement le Roy de Prusse, ni a ce qui avoit du rapport a la Russie, et aux Suedois, et qu'en consequence il n'y avoit pas lieu d'esperer, que les idées qu'on avoit etablies dans ce projet sortiroient l'effet desiré."

If I may venture a conjecture I suspect this project has been either formed, or at least transmitted by the King of Prussia's sister, the Margravine of Bareuth, but be that as it will I think the King of Prussia's answer cannot fail to please as it shows his attention to the interests of England, and his firm resolution to keep to his engagements ; at the same time I must not conceal from your Lordship that his Prussian Majesty is heartily tired of war, and wishes very sincerely for peace.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mem.—The letters of the 25th and 31st July were delivered to Mr. Eichel to be forwarded.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Leignitz in Silesia,
Saturday, 12th August, 1758.

My Lord,

Some days ago his Prussian Majesty said to me, *Sitot que nous sommes arrivés en Silesie je m'elancerai contre les Russes.* He has for that purpose detached General Seidlitz with 18 squadrons and two regiments of dragoons, and the King of Prussia follows with the utmost expedition with 14 bataillons infantry, and one regiment of hussars.

I do not certainly know where the Russians are, nor what is the King of Prussia's project. We are marching towards the Oder, but I fear the Russians will, upon the news of the King of Prussia's approach, retire into Poland, though all care has been taken to conceal the march.

The cavalry and dragoons march before and canton in the villages ; the infantry march in two columns and are likewise cantoned, as well for the ease of the soldiers as to conceal their number, and for the convenience of the country as harvest is not quite over.

The numbers of the Prussian army are computed from 50m to 60m men including the irregulars ; and Count Dohna's army, when joined by the corps I have mentioned, will amount to 44 bataillons, and 88 squadrons horse, dragoons, and hussars.

Our Generals think this force is sufficient to give a

good account of the whole Russian army if they will but stay. His Prussian Majesty begins already to be impatient, and fears something may happen between Count Dohna and the Russians before he arrives.

By to-morrow night our little army will have marched upwards of ten German miles in three days.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Crossen, Friday, 18th August, 1758.

MY LORD,

My last letter to your Lordship is of the 12th, from *Leignitz.*

August 13th.—The army marched to *Heintzendorff,* a village four miles distant from *Leignitz,* and halted there the 14th.

15th.—Marched to the village of *Daltzau,* 3½ miles, leaving *Glogau* to the right.

16th.—Marched to *Wartemberg* 3½ miles.

17th.—Marched by *Grunneberg* to *Johnsberg* four miles.

18th.—Marched to *Crossen* four miles, where we found the cavalry encamped on the other side of the river. This little army, which, in eight days, has marched 25 miles (nearly 125 English), with one day of rest, goes on with much alacrity. The soldiers are greatly animated against the Russ, for the barbarities they have committed everywhere; and if an

action should ensue (which is highly probable), I am persuaded it will be a very bloody one.

On the 16th the King of Prussia had an account that the Russian army had, on the 15th, bombarded the town of *Custrin*, and set it on fire. Besides the loss of a considerable magazine, the buildings of the town have suffered prodigiously, and many private persons, having carried their effects thither for security, will be undone.

General Dohna marched with his army on the 16th from *Frankfort* towards *Custrin*. The Russians have not attempted to pass the Oder, and, as I hear, are retired to *Konigswalde* and *Landsberg*, which are distant about five miles from hence; and I hope in a few days to send your Lordship a courier with news that will entirely change the gloomy face of affairs.

I forgot in my last to mention that, in order to march with more celerity, all the heavy baggage was left at *Glogau;* but even in these long marches we carry with us 26 pieces of battering cannon, besides the field pieces of the bataillons; and I am informed that General Dohna is well provided with artillery, which is the more necessary as the Russians have a great train along with them.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—As your Lordship has not acknowledged the receipt of my letters of the 16th and 24th June from Moravia, I shall by the next courier send duplicates of them, though they are now of no importance.—A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dermitzel, Thursday, 24th August, 1758.

My Lord,

Since I wrote to your Lordship, the 18th, from Crossen by Cleverly, I have had the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 11th, and I most heartily congratulate with you on the success of General Blygh at *Cherbourg*. I immediately communicated the news to the King of Prussia, who was highly pleased with it, and it gave great spirits to our army, who were then in full march to pass the Oder.

August 19*th*.—The army marched to *Zeibigen*.

20*th*.—Marched to *Frankfort* ; road very deep sand. Head-quarter was in the suburbs, and the cavalry encamped on the hill above the town. In these two last marches, our little army was on the same side the river with the Russians, who seem to have had no intelligence. At *Frankfort* we passed the river on the bridge, and the infantry was cantoned in the town.

21*st*.—The King of Prussia marched early in the morning, with the hussars only, to General Dohna's camp ; the army halted at *Frankfort*, but marched at ten at night to join Dohna's army.

22*nd*.—Arrived at Gorgas at seven in the morning, where the junction was made with General Dohna's army, and marched again at ten at night.

23*rd*.[7]—After a march of ten hours, the army

[7] The King says:—"Tandis que l'armée marchoit la nuit du 23 en remontant l'Oder jusqu'à Gustebiese, où elle fut jointe par M^r. de Kanitz, qui

crossed the Oder at *Gustavise*, on a bridge of boats which was thrown over in five hours. They met with no opposition, though their passage might have been prevented by one hundred men and two small pieces of cannon ; so advantageous are the heights on the right side of the river. The army had not all crossed the river at seven at night. The head-quarter was at *Golassau*, and I cannot reckon this march less than 25 English miles. The whole army was excessively fatigued.

24*th*.—Halted till one o'clock; marched to *Dermitzel*. It was dark before the troops arrived in camp, and they marched next morning at three o'clock to the field of battle.

I reckon the troops that came with the King of Prussia have, from the 11th to the 24th inclusive, marched 44 German miles (full 200 English miles), with only one day that can properly be termed a day of rest, for when they halted in the day time they marched in the night.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

amena suffisamment de bateaux pour la construction du pont, on se donna tant de soins pour l'achever, que toute l'armée l'eut passé à midi ; elle continua sa marche jusqu'au village de Clossow, où elle se campa, et par cette position elle coupa déjà le corps de Mr. de Fermor de celui de Mr. Romanzow, qui était du côté de Schwedt, où il avait dessein de passer l'Oder. Le 24 l'armée se campa à Dermitzel vis-à-vis de Mr. de Fermor, qui sur les mouvemens des Prussiens avoit levé le siège de Kustrin, et s'étoit fait joindre par la division de Mr. Czernichef, avec laquelle et le gros de ses troupes il prit une position entre les villages de Quartschen et de Zicker, ayant une ruisseau marécagaux devant son front ; ces troupes campoient en quarré selon l'usage que le Maréchal Munnich avoit suivi en faisant la guerre aux Turcs dans la petite Tartarie. —*Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans*, tom. i., p. 306.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Field of Battle at Zorndorff,
Saturday, 26th August, 1758.

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that yesterday, after an action which lasted ten hours, the King of Prussia has gained a victory over the Russian army, taken many pieces of cannon, colours, and standards, the particular number of each it is impossible for me yet to specify.

The Prussian army marched from *Dermitzel*,[8] a village

[8] The King says :—" Le lendemain l'armée déboucha sur 4 colonnes dans la plaine, près du village de Batzelow ; les ennemis avoient laissé entre ce village et Cammin le gros de leur bagage sous une petite escorte ; si l'on avoit été moins pressé, on auroit pu le leur enlever sans peine, et les obliger par quelques marches à quitter le pays ; mais il failloit en venir à une décision, dont on devoit tout attendre, vu la disposition bizarre que l'ennemi avoit donnée à sa bataille. La marche de l'armée continua donc sur Zorndorf, où le Roi se proposoit d'attaquer la face opposée du quarré vis-à-vis de laquelle on avoit été à Dermitzel. Les Cosaques mirent le feu à Zorndorf ; ce qui embarrassa un peu, parce que la grosse artillerie devoit passer ce village, pour former des batteries vis-à-vis de l'ennemi. La gauche, destinée à faire la première attaque, s'appuyoit à un fond qui tire vers Wilkersdorf. M^r. de Manteufel commandoit la première attaque, consistant en 10 bataillons ; il étoit soutenu par la gauche de la première ligne, commandée par M^r. de Kanitz, et par la seconde ligne de l'armée. On se servit de quelques ravins, à l'abri desquels on mit la cavalerie de la gauche contre l'artillerie de l'ennemi, et où toutefois elle étoit à portée d'agir dès que cela seroit trouvé nécessaire. Les ordres du Roi portoient que la première attaque, en avançant constamment, s'appuyât à ce ravin, qui la conduisoit directement sur la droite des Russes ; mais par des contretemps et des mésentendus il arriva qu'elle s'en écarta en approchant de l'ennemi, de façon que M^r. de Kanitz, qui devoit être derrière M^r. de Manteufel, se trouva à sa droite. L'attaque fut repoussée, et l'infanterie revint en assez grande confusion ; mais comme l'ennemi étoit aussi en désordre, le Roi fit ordonner à M^r. de Seidlitz de le charger incontinent ; il forma trois colonnes, qui percèrent en même temps le quarré, et en moins d'un quart d'heure tout le champ de bataille fut nettoyé d'ennemis ; ce qui se sauva de l'armée russe passa ce fond qu'elle avoit à sa

distant about two miles from hence. They passed the small river *Mitzel* on one bridge, and were not harassed in their march by the enemy's light troops, though the ground was extremely favourable for that purpose, by reason of the woods and *Defilés* the army had to pass through.

The army marched in four columns; the first consisted of ten bataillons, commanded by Lieutenant-General Manteuffel, Major-Generals Kahln and Coursel, which made the vanguard; the rest of the infantry, in two other columns, formed the first and second lines, and the whole cavalry made the fourth column. They arrived in a large open plain, edged with woods, about eight o'clock in the morning, and formed very quickly, as they had marched in order of battle.

At nine in the morning, the whole army was formed. The vanguard began the action before the village of *Zorndorff*, which had been set on fire by the enemy, and as the King of Prussia thought he had gained their

droite, et commença de se réformer vers Quartschen. Le Roi prit alors l'infanterie de sa droite, avec laquelle il fit un quart de conversion, et la forma vis-à-vis de ce fond. On voulut le faire passer aux troupes à différentes reprises; mais elles revenoient après un court espace de temps, sans qu'on en comprît d'abord la raison. C'est que la caisse militaire des Russes et tout l'équipage de leurs généraux étoient dans ce fond; les troupes, au lieu de le passer, comme elles le pouvoient, s'amusoient à piller, et revenoient dès qu'elles étoient bien chargées de butin. La cavalerie ne pouvoit agir dans cette partie à cause des marais dont ce fond étoit rempli; cela réduisit les Prussiens à canonner l'ennemi, ce qu'ils continuèrent jusqu' à nuit close. La bataille avoit commencé à 9 heures du matin, et ne finit qu' à 8 heures et demie du soir. Les Russes se retirèrent dans le bois de Tamsel, où toutes leurs troupes se mirent en peloton, la cavalerie au centre, entourée de l'infanterie."—*Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans*, tom i. p. 307, 309.

flank, he ordered the attack to be made by his left wing, whilst he refused his right, and the cavalry commanded by General Seidlitz formed a fourth line (for I reckon the vanguard the first), which, after the infantry should have broke in upon that of the enemy, were to act on either flank as occasion should offer. Proper dispositions were likewise made by the King of Prussia, to prevent the enemy's retreat towards *Landsberg* upon the *Warta*.

The action began at nine in the morning, near the village of *Zorndorff*, and lasted till seven at night.[9] The fire of the artillery was terrible on both sides, and continued almost without interruption till the end of the action. What added to the horror of this spectacle was that the Cossacks and Calmucks had set fire to the villages all round, and a great number of Russian powder waggons blew up in the woods which surrounded the field of battle.[1]

The beginning of the action was very favourable to the Prussians, and if the infantry placed on the left (I mean that of General Dohna's army) had done what was expected from them, the victory would have been most compleat ; but, unhappily, they neither charged with the spirit of Prussian soldiers, nor showed that firmness which they have done on other occasions. I have

[9] Frederic says the battle began at 9 in the morning, and did not end till half-past 8 at night.

[1] Frederic says : "Pendant l'action de la veille et durant cette journée (26) c'etait un spectacle affreux que de voir tous les villages voisins, auxquels les Cosaques avoient mis le feu, et que rassembloient dans ces environs toutes les calamités dont l'humanité peut être affligée."—*Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans.*

it from the mouth of a Russian officer, prisoner, that if they had, the whole Russian army would have been destroyed. In one word, those bataillons gave way, got into confusion, and many of them left the field of battle, which now began to be very doubtfull, till Lieutenant-General Seidlitz, with his own regiment, that of the *gardes du corps* and the *gens d' armes*, broke through the Russian cavalry into their infantry, and restored our affairs; the rest of the Prussian cavalry likewise behaved well, so that one may fairly say this battle was won by the cavalry.

The King of Prussia remained last night on the field of battle, with all his cavalry, dragoons, and hussars, and only fourteen bataillons of infantry, which are those he brought with him from Landeshut, who have done wonders, notwithstanding almost incredible marches they made in fifteen days time, including the two days of halting.

In this situation the King of Prussia remained on the field of battle last night, the country all round in flames, and I expected we should have been attacked in the night, which, however, luckily did not happen. The cannonading began this morning again, and continued very brisk for three hours.

As the enemy was very near, it was uncertain whether they might risk another action. The King of Prussia drew up his cavalry on the high grounds, so as to flank them, whether they advanced to attack the army, or retired to *Landsberg*, and the infantry, which the day before had behaved ill, were brought back and drawn

up in one line to front the enemy, but, as neither side cared to attack, all this day has been spent in cannonading. The Russians have formed a hollow square, and remain hitherto immoveable.

All our officers agree that the Russian infantry behaved well, as a view of the field of battle is a full proof of it, for they fell in their ranks. The loss on both sides must be considerable. I hear two of our generals are killed, and two wounded. Besides the general officers of the Russians killed in battle, there are, as I am informed, six or seven general officers already in camp, and every moment our troops are bringing in more prisoners and trophies, but I am sorry to say the number of prisoners is not considerable; the cruelties committed by the Cossacks and Calmucks have so provoked the soldiers, that they very rarely gave quarter.

I write this letter not in the greatest tranquillity, as it is not decided whether we may not have another battle to-morrow. The moment his Prussian Majesty gives me his letter to the King, the messenger shall be dispatched.

In this action his Prussian Majesty exposed himself to the greatest dangers. I was a witness of some of them, and I am informed when the infantry on the left began to give way he bravely took the colours in his own hand and led them on. Thank Heaven he has escaped unhurt. This morning, as he went to reconnoitre, he narrowly escaped being killed by a cartridge shot, which fell all around us like a shower of hail.

The cannonading has continued all day ; we have lost about one hundred men by it.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—This evening a trumpet arrived from General Fermor, desiring a suspension of arms for three days to bury the dead, to which it was answered that it belonged to him who had the field of battle to bury the dead and to take care of the wounded.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private, p.m. 4°.]

Field of Battle, at Zorndorff, 26th August, 1758.

MY LORD,

Last night the King of Prussia called me to him, between seven and eight o'clock, just after the battle ended, and told me that as he had not time to write to the King that night, he desired I should delay dispatching a courier to England till the affair was ended, that in the meantime he would write a short letter to Berlin, to keep up their spirits and to prevent the effects of false impressions. To this I most readily agreed as I thought the affair far from being decided. He said he would have sent an officer to England but he really could not spare one, as several of his aids de camp had been killed or wounded in the battle.

As the Russians continue firm in their position, I fear we shall have another action to-morrow, for which we are by no means well prepared. In every situation, believe me most sincerely, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[p.m. by Garstin.]

Tamsel, 28th August, 1758.

My Lord,

I have had many unpleasant moments of late We were upon the very brink of destruction. The Russians fought like devils. The King of Prussia's firmness of mind has saved all. There are many particulars I would willingly write, but I am almost dead with fatigue. Would to God I was out of this scene of horrour and bloodshed.

Inclosed are the duplicates of my private letters unacknowledged.

I am, &c.,

And^R. Mitchell.

Nota.—It was duplicates of the letters of the 10th and 16th of June, that were sent in the above letter of the 28th August.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter, at Tamsel, Monday, 28th August, 1758.

My Lord,

This day, about an hour before I had the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 18th instant, by Dawson, I received the inclosed letter for the King. It contains a relation of the whole affair, and had I known that his Prussian Majesty would himself have composed a relation, my letter of the 26th should have been more concise.

I have delivered into the King of Prussia's own hands the King's letter in answer to the notification of the death of the Prince of Prussia.

The account of the surrender of Louisbourg I instantly communicated to the King of Prussia, who expressed the highest satisfaction, and he thinks this event may contribute more than any other to bring about a general peace. I have since been visited by all the officers of distinction, who take a hearty share in our success, and as soon as the army is assembled we shall have the usual rejoicings for this victory.

The army continued on the field of battle the night of the 26th, and yesterday we moved hither. The Russian army, of which I had a full view, appeared to retire in good order, notwithstanding all it has suffered. Our army halted here this day. Prince Moritz leads the vanguard, and I am informed that the Russians continue to retire, but in good order, though they are greatly incumbered with artillery and baggage, which they cover with a very respectable rear guard.

The Russian prisoners are sent to *Custrin*, where they must be very ill lodged, as the town is entirely destroyed by the bombardment. General Brown, the second in command, refused quarter and was sabred by the Prussian dragoons. Lieutenant-Generals Soltikow, the third in command, and Chernichew are unhurt; Major-Generals Manteuffel, Tieremhausen, Chivers, are prisoners. The Russian trumpet says there are five other Generals missing, but I hear Prince Galitzin is

safe and unhurt. Prince Charles of Saxony, it is said, retired soon from the field of battle, and there are yet no accounts of him. The burning of *Zittaw*, in Lusatia, last year, and of *Custrin* in this campaign are unhappily ascribed to the blind zeal of this Prince, whose character I find is not great among the Russian officers; they tell me he has 200 crowns per diem from their Court.

I shall (by the next opportunity) inform your Lordship of further particulars concerning this most important victory, and I hope to be able to send an order of battle and a plan, which our present hurry has made impossible for me yet to procure. I know nothing certain of the motions of the Prussian army we left at Landeshut, but I am sorry to hear that the Austrian army is actually advanced into Lusatia.

Inclosed are duplicates of the letters which I fear may have been intercepted, as they have never been acknowledged from your Lordship's office.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Keith, at Petersbourg.

Head Quarter, at Tamsel, Tuesday, 29th August, 1758.

SIR,

I make no apology for not writing to you, the situation I have been in for some months past rendered it impossible. I had the honour to accompany his Prussian Majesty in his retreat through Moravia and

Bohemia, which was performed with the greatest order, and without any loss on his part; on the contrary, he took about 800 prisoners in the different rencontres he had with the enemy. I am, therefore (as an eye-witness), greatly surprised with some accounts that have been published in the foreign gazettes, nor do I conceive any purpose that can be served by such false relations, unless it be to deceive for a time their allies.

On our arrival on the frontiers of Silesia, the King of Prussia immediately determined to march himself with a strong detachment against the Russians, who were laying waste everything with fire and sword, and in fourteen days he marched 44 German miles, but he came too late to save *Custrin*, which a few days before had been reduced to ashes by the bombardment. The citadel however was saved, and the Russian army retired on the approach of the Prussian. There has been an action at *Zorndorff*, on the 25th, between them, of which, before this can reach, you will have had an account.

Lieutenant-Generals Soltikow, Czernichew, are prisoners and not wounded, as are Major-Generals Manteuffel, Tieremhausen, Sivers, and Colonel Fullarton. General Brown is killed; I hear he refused quarter. General Danyn, and some others whose names I have not been able to procure, are wounded. On the side of the Prussians one Lieutenant-General and two Major-Generals are wounded, they say not dangerously. The Russian infantry behaved well, and the battle lasted from nine in the morning till seven at night.

But what gives one great pleasure is that the Russian officers, who are now at *Custrin*, have already the liberty of town, and all the prisoners will be as well treated as the unhappy situation of affairs in this country permits, which the barbarities committed by the Cossacks and Calmucks have reduced to a sad situation.

Allow me to give you joy of General Blygh's success in Normandy, and of the still more important success of Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, who have taken Louisbourg, the Island of St. John, and the appurtenances; the garrison, consisting of 5637, are prisoners of war; eleven French ships of war have been taken or destroyed, 221 cannon, 18 mortars found in the fortress, besides stores, &c. &c. The loss on our part of killed and wounded does not exceed 500, among which no officer of distinction. I hear likewise from good authority that General Abercrombie has beat the French at Crown Point, but cannot yet inform you of particulars.

The following particulars are from the King of Prussia's relation of this battle. We have already six Generals, 60 officers, 1700 men prisoners, and they continue bringing in more every moment. The Russians by their own confession have lost 18m men, 73 pieces of cannon, 17 standards and colours, and their military chest, said to amount to 858m roubles.

I reckon the loss of the Prussians under four thousand, killed and wounded. General Fermer has, since the battle, occupied a strong camp about half a mile from

hence, where he is intrenched. The baggage and carriages incumber him prodigiously. The day after the battle he sent a trumpet to ask a suspension of arms for three days to bury the dead, which was refused, as it belongs to him who has the field of battle to bury the dead, and to take care of the wounded; but the burning of villages, &c., has ceased since that time.

Such had been the barbarities of the Russ killing, burning, and destroying, wherever they came, that the Prussian soldiers for some time gave no quarter. They were provoked to madness, and, indeed, it is no wonder; the whole country was in flames during the battle and the night after.

The King of Prussia desires me to write to you, that he thinks this a proper time for you to endeavour to improve, at Petersbourg, the consternation that the news of this defeat must occasion, by shewing the want of sincerity and good faith in the Austrians, and by inspiring into the Russian ministers the diffidence they ought to have of their allies, who had left them in the lurch, according to the usual politicks of the House of Austria, which on every occasion save themselves at the expence of their best friends and allies.

If you should find the Russian ministers well disposed to a separate peace, I know it will be agreeable to the King of Prussia.

Another topic you will not fail to insist upon, that the Swedes have remained all this time in inaction; that perhaps in their hearts they rejoice at what has happened, for ancient antipathies are not soon forgot, nor

can there be any sincere friendship between the Swedes and Russians.

I am unhurt, (God be thanked), though I had the imprudence to be present in the whole action. I have done everything to be of service to the Russians of all ranks, and it is the greatest consolation I have amidst this scene of horrors that my endeavours have been of some use.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Head Quarter at Tamsel, Thursday, 31st August, 1758.

MY LORD,

Since I wrote to your Lordship the 28 August, nothing remarkable has happened here. We remain in the same camp we occupied on the 27th, and the Russian army are in sight upon a rising ground, with a ravine before them; a wood upon their right, into which they have thrown 4 or 5m men; and a morass upon their left. In this position it is judged improper to attack them, and it would be very hazardous for them to attempt to attack us, as all the advantages of their situation would then turn against themselves, so soon as they shall begin to move off; Prince Moritz, with the van-guard, which lyes within cannon shot of the enemy, is ready to accompany them.

How long we may remain here I cannot guess, as our motions must depend on those of the enemy; nor can I write anything certain of the army we left in Silesia.

under the command of Margrave Charles, only that it is advanced to *Buntzlau*. I hear the Austrian army, under Daun, have moved towards *Gorlitz*, and that commanded by Prince Henry of Prussia is at Zeist, so as to cover *Pirna*, *Dresden*, &c. General Loudoun has been detached from the great Austrian army towards *Frankfort*, and from this army a detachment has been sent against him under Prince Francis of Brunswick.

I send this letter by a messenger to Berlin, along with letters which it was thought proper I should write to Petersbourg, &c. I have done everything in my power to be of use to the Russian generals and others that are wounded or prisoners, as I believed it my duty, and what could not fail of being agreeable to his Majesty. I cannot now be more particular, but am, with the greatest respect, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private, p.m. 4°.]

Bloomberg, Friday, 1st September, 1758.

MY LORD,

The other letter of yesterday's date was intended to have been dispatched very early this morning to Berlin, but his Prussian Majesty having notice in the night that the rear guard of the enemy began to file off, ordered his army to march at three o'clock this morning, and we are just arrived here without seeing the enemy. A few cannon shot have passed between their rear and our van guard.

It is believed that the Russian army have been filing off to *Landsberg* these three days past, for if they had a mind to make a stand, they never could have a more favourable position than that they have quitted, which is exactly as described in my other letter, with this addition, that behind their camp there are several small hills that form a sort of chain at little distances from each other, all those hills are fortified with *flêches* and *redoutes*, which have this particular in them, that there is a *fossée* within as well as without the work.

As I passed through the Russian camp this morning with General Dohna, he expressed great satisfaction that the King had not attacked this camp, which he said was well chose and well fortified, and could not have been forced without great loss of men; that the attempt would have been most hazardous.

The army encamp here, having the village of *Bloomberg* on their left, distant about one half mile from Damsel. The van guard will continue to harass the enemy as much as possible, but they are now got into the *defilés* in the woods, where it will be difficult to follow them.

Since we have so many Russian Generals prisoners the burnings have ceased, which shews that Fermer had power to prevent them. Every step one advances moves compassion. Had I not seen it, I never could have believed that it was possible for man to be so much enemy to man, as totally to be divested of every feeling of humanity. I cannot bear these sad scenes

much longer; pray send somebody in my place whose breast is better steeled than mine is.

I ever am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—The Colonel of artillery told me that he has now in his possession ninety pieces of Russian cannon and he expects that still more will be found in the woods.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Mühlrosse, Sunday, 3rd Septr., 1758.

MY LORD,

Since I wrote to your Lordship the 31st August and 1st instant I have had the honour of your letter of the 22nd, and I am glad to find that General Abercrombie has not been defeated, only repulsed, and that it is hoped General Amherst will soon restore everything.

The Prussian army marched yesterday suddenly at one o'clock, passed by Custrin, crossed the Oder, and encamped about half a mile farther on. The head-quarter was at the village of *Manchow*, and they marched again this morning very early to *Mühlrosse*, a little town on the frontier of Saxony, distant from Frankfort two miles, and I believe they will continue marching at least two or three days more without halting, till the junction is made with the army commanded by Margrave Charles. I am informed the Austrians are making vigorous efforts on the side of Saxony against the little army of Prince Henry.

The King of Prussia brings back with him the 14 bataillons and 38 squadrons he had from Silesia, besides two regiments of cavalry which were sent from Prince Henry's army to join Dohna's, and he has left with General Dohna all the other troops. I cannot help fearing that General Fermor may think of returning and attacking them anew; but I comfort myself that the egregious blunders he made in the last battle will still be the occasion of more.

The King of Prussia marches with the cavalry only. Prince Moritz brings up the infantry as fast as possible; and my apprehension is that Marshall Daun will endeavour to profit of the King of Prussia's absence by risking an action before the armies can be joined.

I passed through Custrin yesterday, which affords the most dismal spectacle I ever saw. It seems to have been a very pretty small town. All the houses are burnt to the ground, the walls only left standing. A few in the suburbs have escaped. The town is filled with Russian prisoners, who lie in the streets or under ground. The fortifications are good and not damaged, and the approaches by way of siege would have been difficult. The town stands close on the right side of the Oder, and has an extensive morass on the other side of it, which you pass upon a bridge of six or seven hundred paces length where the morass ends. Here the Russians placed their batteries, which, unhappily, consumed the whole town in a few hours. The bridge over the morass was damaged; that over the Oder on the other side of the town has escaped, but

many houses in the suburbs on the opposite shore were burnt down by the Russian bombs.

General Dohna, who encamped on the left side of the Oder, told me that he saved the town by sending a fresh garrison of three bataillons every day into it, for I was surprised to find there was no citadel notwithstanding what I had heard.

I had the satisfaction of seeing the cannon taken from the Russians in the battle of 25th August ranged on the market place of Custrin. Some of them are of an extraordinary structure, being bored horizontalwise in an oval form of eight inches by four, which they pretend is excellent for cartridge shot; and others have two small swivel mortars placed upon the same carriage with the cannon.

I venture this by post to Berlin, not knowing when I may be able to write again, for very probably a few days more will decide our fate. Believe me even in the most critical situations, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dobriluck in the Lower Lusatia, Thursday, 7th Septemr., 1758.

MY LORD,

Since I wrote to your Lordship the 3rd instant from *Mühlrosse*, I have been honoured with your Lordship's letters of the 25th August. The conveyance of my letters from Bohemia of the 25th and 31st July I reckoned more secure than by any English

messenger dispatched in the circumstances we then were in.

September 4th.—The army marched from *Mühlrosse* to *Trebatsch.*

5th.—To *Lüben* in the Lower Lusatia.

6th.—Halted at *Lüben.*

7th.—Marched to Dobriluck, distant only eight miles from Dresden. By this last very long march of six miles the junction with the army commanded by Margrave Charles is absolutely secured, for that army is now at *Hoyerswerda* in the Higher Lusatia, five miles from hence. I hear this day the Duke of Wurtemberg has taken upwards of one hundred prisoners near *Spremberg.* He probably commands the rear-guard of Margrave Charles' army. We march to-morrow towards the *Elster*, and I write now in case an occasion should offer to have this letter forwarded to England by Saturday's post from Berlin.

Marshall Daun's army has been at *Königsbruck*, *Camentz*, *Radeberg*, and *Bischoffswerda*, and I hear are now retiring towards *Budissin.*

The celerity with which the marches have been executed almost exceeds credibility. In five times twenty-four hours, viz., from Saturday two in the afternoon, to Thursday, same hour, the army led by the King of Prussia have marched twenty [about 100 English] miles ; and though these forced marches are attended with loss of men and horses, yet the great point is gained of the junction of the two armies with that of Prince Henry, and thereby it is hoped Saxony

will be secured, as well as the King of Prussia's countries covered from the incursions of the enemy.

Whilst the King of Prussia was following the Russians, the Austrians entered into Lusatia, took possession of *Cothbus* and *Peitz*, (a small town and fortification belonging to him upon the Sprey, in the heart of the Lower Lusatia). They have exacted very high contributions, and ruined every thing wherever they came, but not with a Russian barbarity. They likewise pushed their out-parties into *Brandenbourg*, where they raised contributions, but upon the news of his approach they have abandoned *Peitz*, &c., and are all retired towards their main army. I mention these particulars as his Prussian Majesty has thought proper (on account of the plunderings of the Austrians) by way of reprisal, to raise contributions in the towns in Lusatia.

If army news may be credited, the Russians defeated at *Zorndorff* on the 25th last month, amounted to 70m, exclusive of the detachment under General Romanzow, said to be about 15m. Some of the Russian prisoners taken since the battle say they lost in the field from 25 to 28m, besides a great number of wounded they carry along with them. By the last accounts from General Fermer's army it continued filing off from *Landsberg*, and I shall be very glad to hear that they have fairly entered Poland, and quitted the strong camp at *Landsberg*. Sixteen more Russian cannon have been found in the woods, which makes the whole number taken 106.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Wednesday, 13th September,
10 o'clock morning, 1758.

My Lord,

Since I wrote to your Lordship from *Dobriluck*, the 7th, I have not been honoured with any letter from your Lordship.

September the 8th.—The army marched to *Elsterwerda.*

9th.—By *Gross-Hayn* to *Dobritz*, a village distant $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Dresden.

10th.—Halted at *Dobritz.* The army commanded by Margrave Charles, arrived late this night at *Gross-Hayn*, having made a very long march from *Sennteberg*, of upwards of five miles.

11th.—Army marched to *Reichenberg*, a village distant one mile from Dresden. Here the two armies joined.

12th.—Halted at *Reichenberg.* His Prussian Majesty marched in the evening with a small corps towards the Elbe, and sent some regiments to reinforce Prince Henry, who continues still on the left side of the Elbe near *Dohna.*

13th.—This morning the rest of the army followed his Prussian Majesty, and I hear they will encamp upon the hills on the right side of the Elbe above Dresden. One of the columns passed within gun shot of this town.

Marshall Daun is, I hear, at *Stolpen*, fortifying his camp on the high grounds, as he does not chuse to trust to numbers only.

I am informed that some days ago the town of *Pirna* and castle of *Sonnenstein* surrendered to the Austrians. The Commandant is blamed, but I have not yet heard any particulars.

It is a miracle that Prince Henry and his little army have not been devoured; but it is very happy that Marshal Daun, with his numerous host, has not profited more of the King of Prussia's absence.

Having been a good deal indisposed for some days past, I am this moment arrived, and proposed to pass a few days here for the recovery of my health. The King of Prussia must remain in this neighbourhood. It will be easy for me to join him again so soon as I am able.

I am, &c.

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Wednesday, 27th September, 1758.

MY LORD,

I have had no letter from your Lordship since my last of the 24th.

His Prussian Majesty finding that the camp occupied by Marshal Daun at *Stolpen* was absolutely inattackable,[2] thought proper yesterday to move by his left towards *Radeberg*, and he has sent his Chancellerie and the greatest part of the baggage of the army into this

[2] It may be questioned whether this word is English. However, the answer reported to have been made to an English officer, who made use of "inexpugnable," or some such word, would altogether lose its point if applied to such a soldier as the King of Prussia. If *he* thought that a post could not be attacked with any chance of advantage, who could gainsay him?

town, from whence it is conjectured that the movement to *Radeberg* is only a prelude to some future operation of more consequence.

If Marshal Daun should think proper to quit his strong post at *Stolpen*, a battle will probably ensue immediately; and if he does not, the King of Prussia by the position he has taken at *Radeberg* may march on to *Budissin*, where, I am informed, the Prince of Baden Durlack is encamped with a corps of 12 or 15m men. But it is doubted whether his Highness will think himself strong enough to resist an attack of the Prussian army with the King at their head.

In case the Prince of Durlach should abandon the post of Budissin, it is probable the King of Prussia will endeavour to cut off the communication of the Austrian army with *Zittau*, from whence they draw a great part of their subsistence.

These are only conjectures. The King of Prussia's real intention must appear in a very few days, and though the manner of execution will in a great measure depend on the steps taken by Marshal Daun and the Prince of Durlach, yet the event, I hope, will be determined by the King of Prussia's genius, which, in cases of extremity, guides fortune.

Prince Henry of Prussia remains quiet in his camp near *Dohna*, and the Prince of Deux Ponts continues still to occupy the camp of *Strupen*.

It is said that the desertion among the Austrian troops is very considerable. The cause I have not heard assigned; but I am sure it is not from any

encouragement they meet with on the part of the Prussians.

So soon as the march to *Radeberg* was resolved on, the bridge over the Elbe at *Pillnitz* was withdrawn and brought nearer to this town.

The hurry of our marches and my illness since, have prevented me from sending a plan of the battle of *Zorndorff*. The inclosed is the best I have yet seen, but as I do not think it quite exact, I shall endeavour to procure a better when the engineers come into winter quarters, and have leisure to compare together the different plans that have been made of this very complex action.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S. Roworth the messenger is this instant arrived, but the dispatches are not opened.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Sunday, 15th October, 1758.

MY LORD,

I have no letter from England since my last, of the 11th, in which I mentioned to your Lordship the position of the armies on the 9th instant.

The King of Prussia marched from *Budissin* on the 10th, and has his quarter at *Rodewiz*. The right of the camp is upon the heights near *Hoch-Kirch*, and the left upon the descent of the hill that stretches towards *Weissenburg*, where Lieutenant-General Retzow is posted with a separate corps.

Marshal Daun is encamped with his right upon the

mountains before *Weissenburg*, his left extending to the heights near *Lobau*.

The hereditary Prince of Hesse is left with a separate corps at *Budissin*, and he has under him Major-Generals Kannacher and *Bornstadt*.

The armies are now so near, that they cannonade each other daily, and it is thought that an action is hardly avoidable, though it has been reported here that the Austrian army was filing off towards *Zittau*, whilst Marshal Daun, in the strong camp he now occupies, is amusing the King of Prussia.

On the 10th, as his Prussian Majesty made a forced march towards *Rodewiz*, the baggage could not follow, which the Austrian patrouilles perceiving, fell in with it directly, and took about 20 waggons; the others retired back to *Budissin*. The King of Prussia, being informed of what happened, instantly detached two regiments of dragoons, who immediately drove off and despersed the enemy, and had the good fortune to make 7 officers and 80 men prisoners, with the loss only, on their side, of five men killed and a few wounded.

The next day, the 11th, the bread-waggons set out from *Budissin*, and General Loudon, thinking that this long train was no better escorted than that of the day before, rushed out of the woods between *Budissin* and *Hoh-Kirch*, with about 3000 pandours, 30 squadrons hussars, and some pieces of cannon; but Marshal Keith, who had waited at *Budissin*, to bring up this convoy, received them so warmly, that the pandours and hussars fled with great precipitation into the woods, leaving

behind them 30 men and three officers, who were made prisoners, among whom is the Prince of Lichtenstein, Lieutenant-Colonel of Lovenstein dragoons, and nephew to the Grand Master of the * *. In this affair the Prussians did not lose one single man.

Last Friday, detachments were sent from Prince Henry's army towards Freyberg, to drive off General Haddick, who is there with about 6 or 7m, chiefly irregulars; the attack was to have been yesterday, but we have yet no account of the success.

The Swedes, I learn, are retiring into Mecklenburg, and into Swedish Pomerania; General Widel continues to follow them.

The gros of the Russian army is still at *Stargard*, and General Dohna continues at *Piritz*.

The Russians have detached General Perlmbach to besiege *Colberg*, which he had bombarded for three days when the last accounts came from thence, but without doing any damage to the fortress, and very little to the town. Major Heyden, commandant of *Colberg*, makes a brave defence. He has twice granted a suspension of arms to the Russians to bury their dead, and on the 8th instant none of the garrison had been killed or wounded. The Russian General proposed to raise the siege, provided they would pay him 300m crowns; to which the Major answered, that he would not give him three pence, and bid him go on, for that he, the Major, was resolved to do his duty like an honest man.

Last night, a convoy of empty waggons arrived from

the Prussian army, which set out from thence on the 13th; and some officers, that came along with it, say that yesterday, as they left *Bischoffswerda*, they heard the firing of cannon and small arms, which lasted from six in the morning till past ten. This report occasioned a general belief here that the two armies were engaged; but as no account is as yet come of this affair, and the armies are only seven miles distant from hence, I imagine nothing material can have happened.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Sunday, 15th October, 1758.

MY LORD,

Since my last of this morning by post to your Lordship, a chasseur is arrived from the Prussian army. The account he gives (for he brings no relation) of the affair of yesterday, is in substance as follows :—

The 14th, after four in the morning, the right wing of the Prussians encamped at *Hoh-Kirch* was suddenly attacked by the Austrians, and put into confusion. The infantry, however, immediately taking arms, and his Prussian Majesty coming to that wing, the enemy were repulsed, but the Prussians lost some of their artillery.

I am informed that the regiment of Margrave Charles, which was on the right, has suffered most, and that the regiment of the Prince of Prussia made a very brave stand, and gave time to the other regiments to get

under arms, so that the loss of men is said not to have been considerable ; but his Prussian Majesty has thought proper to retire the right wing of his army from *Hoh-Kirch* towards *Budissin;* so that the post it now occupies is between *Budissin* and *Weissenburg,* with the head-quarter at *Dobruchütz.*

During this action, which lasted till about ten o'clock in the morning, the King of Prussia's person was exposed to the greatest dangers ; the horse he mounted was wounded ; one of his pages had his horse killed, and one of the ecuyers that rode by him was wounded ; but, thank God, his Majesty is not hurt.

In the beginning of the action and during the first confusion Prince Francis of Brunswick and Marshal Keith were unfortunately killed ; Prince Moritz of Dessau was wounded, and Major-General Geist, slightly.

These are all the particulars I have yet learnt concerning this unfortunate affair, of which I hope soon to be able to send your Lordship a more ample relation.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S. The Russians, after attempting a second assault upon the fortress of *Colberg,* have raised the siege.

A. M.

P.S. I have this instant received notice that General Hulsen, who was detached against General Haddick from Prince Henry's army, has taken *Freyberg,* but there is yet no account of particulars. A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Most private, p. m., per Roworth.]

Dresden, 16th October, 1758.

My Lord,

My letter of yesterday's date by this messenger contains all the particulars of this most important affair that are yet known with any degree of certainty. I believe the loss on both sides has been considerable, but I cannot help fearing the consequences. Daun, before this, acted with timidity inexcusable; this may give courage and animate his caution, but I comfort myself that fortune has never abandoned the King of Prussia in the most critical situations.

Impatience is certainly excusable in the situation in which the King of Prussia now stands, attacked on all sides, by Swedes, Russians, Empire, and Austrians; but, from the knowledge I have of his temper I cannot help suspecting that the success of this surprise is owing to two causes, the very great contempt he had of the enemy, and the unwillingness I have long observed in him to give any degree of credit to intelligence that is not agreeable to his own imaginations, for I can never believe that the Prussian army within cannon shot of the Austrian could be uninformed of their motions.

A few days ago I received a plan of the siege of Olmutz which Marechal Keith had prepared for the King's use, I shall send it by the next messenger as there is not time to pack it up.

I am sorry to say the loss of this worthy man will be

felt in the Prussian army, though all the use was not made of him that might justly have been expected.

I am, &c.

AND^R. MITCHELL.

P.S. This messenger does not go by the King's army, as I thought best to let the King of Prussia communicate the news to Prince Ferdinand directly. A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Sunday, 22nd October, 1758.

MY LORD,

Since my letters of the 19th and 20th by Lambe, there are no accounts from the Prussian army.

I send your Lordship the Austrian relation of the unhappy affair of the 14th, as it has been transmitted to the Court here, which, though it appears to be highly exaggerated, I cannot venture to contradict, as his Prussian Majesty has given no detail of circumstances; but in general, it is evident, had the loss been such as is here represented, that monarch must have retired farther from the enemy, nor could he have been in a condition to offer a second battle so soon.

A chasseur from General Dohna passed here last Friday, and brought an account that the Russian army had abandoned *Stargard* and were retiring by Kalis[3]

[3] More usually spelt Calies, or Callies. But the reader will not hold me responsible for the spelling, which, at the time these dispatches were penned, was somewhat unsettled. I have endeavoured to render it generally uniform and intelligible. But many instances of words, according to the more modern

into Poland, that General Dohna continued to follow them, that the Russians under General Perlmbach, after raising the siege of *Colberg*, and burning their camp, had returned and made another attempt to take the place by escalade, which, not proving successfull, they had again raised the siege and were marched off.

The same chasseur says (for we have no letters), that a magistrate of *Stargard*, who had been sometime with the Russian army as a hostage, came to General Dohna's army and declared he heard, a few days before he was released, that General Fermer had received an order from the Empress to return to Petersbourg with the army.

The Swedes, it is said, were retiring with all expedition into Swedish Pomerania, and General Widel continues to accompany them.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

usage, incorreetly spelt, and even of the same word spelt different ways, will probably still be found throughout these pages. For example, the name of the Russian General is sometimes spelt Fermer, sometimes Fermor; the name of the Prussian General is sometimes Widel, sometimes Wedel. But, in general, I think that Mitchell's names, both of persons and places, will be found very accurate if the hurry in which he was often obliged to write be taken into account, and also that he was writing, to him, foreign names. The inaccuracy of foreigners in regard to English names, even when they had the means of being accurate, is well known. For instance, Thiebault calls Marshal Keith, Marshal Kleith; and Frederic himself, in his History of this war, written when he had leisure and opportunity to have informed himself accurately, writes "Milord Gramby."

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Tuesday, 14th Nov., 1758.

My Lord,

Since I wrote to your Lordship of the 6th, 7th, and 8th, by the post of last Wednesday, there has been no possibility of receiving or sending any letters whatever, as the town is surrounded on all sides by the enemy.

I shall now give your Lordship the best account I can of what has happened since the 8th instant. I mentioned in my letter of that date, that General Fink had determined to throw a bridge over the *Elbe*, which was accordingly executed that day, and the bridge was compleated about five o'clock afternoon from the *Ooterwise* to the opposite shore, at the distance of seven or eight hundred paces from the stone bridge of Dresden, and lower down the river.

About three in the afternoon on the 8th, General Meyer, who commanded two free bataillons posted at the *Groenwise* and the *Great Garden*, on the Pirna side, was attacked by a very large detachment from the Austrian army. He made, however, a good defence, and though he was obliged at last to give way to numbers, the affair had no farther consequences than that the Austrians got possession of the *Great Garden*.

In the night between the 8th and 9th, all was quiet; but about three afternoon on Thursday the 9th, another skirmish began between General Meyer's corps and the

Austrians, who were in possession of the *Great Garden*, in which Meyer was forced to retire into the suburbs, and thence into the town. Some of the Austrians followed into the suburbs, which occasioned the firing of cannon from the ramparts to dislodge them, and some houses in the suburbs were burnt.

In the afternoon of the 9th, General Fink decamped from *Alt-Franken*, crossed the Elbe in the night, and encamped on the right side of the river under the cannon of the town. The baggage passed through the town upon the stone bridge, which occasioned a great alarm and confusion during the whole night.

On the 10th, about three in the morning, General Schmettau set fire to the suburbs adjoining to the *Pirna* gate, and to many of the houses that are built on the edge of the fossé, apprehensive that they might be occupied by the enemy, and render his cannon on the ramparts ineffectual, as they were within reach of the small arms from those houses.

I will not describe to your Lordship the horror of this night, nor the terror and confusion it struck into the poor inhabitants, as the whole town seemed to be environed with flames. I mounted into one of the steeples, from whence I saw the most melancholy prospect: the poor frightened inhabitants running from the burning suburbs with the wretched remains of their furniture towards the Great Garden, and the whole circuit of the town appeared to be in flames, ruins, and smoke; but I am told, though the damage must be very considerable, that there is not above one-sixth part

of the suburbs between the *Pirna* and *Wilchse* gates destroyed.

In the afternoon Marshal Daun sent an officer to General Schmettau to acquaint him that the burning of the suburbs was against the laws of war, to which the General answered, that the Marshal knew the laws of war too well to think so, that his duty obliged him to do what he had done for the defence of the place, and that he had several times given notice to the Prince Royal and to the magistrates, that he should be obliged to burn the suburbs in case the enemy attempted to take possession of them, but that if the Marshal had a mind to save the rest of the suburbs he needed only withdraw his troops, and he, Schmettau, would cease firing on that side. To this it was answered by the Marshal that he would receive no directions how he was to attack.

The Prussian army, commanded by Generals Itzenplitz and Fink, remained all this day quiet in their new camp, and nothing happened in the night.

On the 11th, nothing passed worth notice, and all was quiet in the night.

At nine in the morning of the 12th, General Schmettau sent me notice that, from the movements of the enemy, he expected to be attacked, and advised to go to the new town, but I chose to stay where I was, and in the afternoon, about two o'clock, five hundred horse came from General Fink's camp into town, and since that time there are guards of cavalry in all the market places, and patrouilles that go day and night through the town,

to prevent disorders from the soldiers. This precaution was extremely necessary, as some of the free bataillons, in passing through the town, attempted to pillage, but General Schmettau has since sent those rascals out of town, as there was no restraining them from plunder. All was quiet in the night, and nothing remarkable happened on the 13th.

Last night an attack was expected, but nothing happened, and this day everything has been very quiet. The Austrian army remains in the same position it has occupied since last Thursday, viz., the right towards the *Elbe*, and extending behind the *Great Garden*, with the left at *Plauen*, on the heights, and, as they have not made any approaches towards the town since that time, nor yet attempted to raise batteries, it is believed that the great artillery is not yet come up.

It is the opinion of many people here, that the reason of Marshal Daun's inactivity for some days past is owing to the firmness of the Governor, and the difficulty the Marshal finds in the execution of a project which may reduce Dresden to ashes without relieving Saxony; they, therefore, say that he waits for fresh orders from Vienna.

The Saxons in general disapprove of the approach of the Austrian army to *Dresden*, by which that town is exposed to utter ruin, and their country to be the seat of war, but they pretend that Count Bruhl, to be revenged of the King of Prussia, has procured this fatal approbation of the Court of Warsaw to a measure so destructive to Saxony.

This morning, Pollock, the messenger, arrived with your Lordship's letters of the 31st October. He had been stopped at Torgau since last Friday, and was an eye-witness to a skirmish between the Austrians under Haddick, and General Wedel's corps, who arrived at *Torgau* last Sunday, just in time to save the place, which must have been lost in a very few hours. This good news is of the greatest importance, and gives spirits to the garrison, and to our little army.

A *chasseur*, arrived this day from the King of Prussia, brings word that his Prussian Majesty and Prince Henry were well, and were to march on the 9th from *Schweidnitz*, towards Saxony, so that I hope we shall, in a very few days, be relieved, for I cannot believe that General Fink will now march from hence, as we are assured that *Torgau* is saved by General Wedel, who, before this time, is joined by General Dohna.

The town of Dresden, on the left side of the *Elbe*, is of small extent, and defended by four bastions and two half bastions towards the river, all faced with free stone. The ditch that surrounds it is deep, and about sixty feet wide in most places, so that it cannot easily be taken by assault, and a breach cannot be made without exposing the town to the greatest calamities of war; which, therefore, I cannot imagine the Austrians will attempt, especially as the Prince Royal and his family are here, and Marshall Daun must know that, in a very few days, he may expect to see his Prussian Majesty in this neighbourhood.

That part of the town which stands on the right of the *Elbe* is fortified with five bastions, and has besides an *envelope*, which is said to be judiciously imagined by the late King of Poland, but which never was compleated, so that, upon the whole, the fortifications of Dresden are very imperfect, and unable to sustain a regular siege.

The enemy are in possession of *Meissen*, an open place, in which there were no troops, and the inclosed relation, which I have not time to get translated, will inform your Lordship of what passed at *Torgau*, from before which place the corps under Haddick retired towards *Eulenberg* when Wedel arrived.

From *Leipzig* there are no accounts. It has been reported here that it is blockaded. The Prussian garrison consists of three bataillons, under the command of Major-General Hausen, who will spare nothing for the defence of the place, which is very small, and but indifferently fortified, yet cannot be taken without cannon.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Thursday, 16th November, 1758.

MY LORD,

I have now the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship that this morning, at four o'clock, the Austrian army began to decamp. The route they have taken is towards *Pirna* and *Gishubel;* all their deserters say

they are going into Bohemia, and that their head quarter will be at *Leitmeritz*.

As the Prussian cavalry, &c., cannot pass through the town (the gates being all shut and barricaded), they have thrown one bridge of boats over the river (which is already compleated), and all the cavalry dragoons, and hussars will immediately pass to harrass the rear of the enemy. We still see their rear guard on the heights very near.

Last night a *chasseur* arrived from the King of Prussia with letters of the 9th. His Prussian Majesty was to march from *Schweidnitz* the 10th, and it is from thence conjectured that by this time he may be arrived at *Lauban*, or perhaps to *Gorlitz*.

The Prussian Generals having given notice to their master of what has happened here, he may profit of the dispersion of the Austrian troops, so as to be able to take *Zittau* before Marshal Daun joins the corps he left for the security of that place; at all events, it is now almost certain that the Austrians must abandon Saxony, and the smoking and ruined suburbs of Dresden will be a lasting monument of the judicious, friendly, and effectual assistance they give to their allies.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

P.S.—Upon hearing the good news of this morning I stopped my estaffette and intended to have dispatched Pollock, but as the same objection of the insecurity of the roads still subsists, I send this by estaffette, and

shall dispatch the messenger so soon as the roads are cleared, with a duplicate of this dispatch, and any farther news we may receive.

A. M.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

[Private, p.m., per Pollock.]

Dresden, 20th November, 1758.

My Lord,

Your Grace's kind letter of the 7th by Cleverly has been to me the greatest comfort I have received since I left England. His Majesty's approbation of my poor endeavours to serve him is the highest point of ambition I aim at; and whilst his Majesty is graciously pleased to honour me with his approbation, I will most chearfully go through everything for his service. The fatigues of the last campaign I feel severely, and my health is considerably impaired by them; but no matter, it is in the King's service, and cannot be better bestowed.

Your Grace must have observed, in the course of my correspondence, that I have not played the courtier. I am satisfied if the King and your Grace think me an honest man, and the freedoms I may be obliged to take will, I hope, be imputed only to my zeal for the King's service.

In this view I mentioned to your Grace in confidence what I had seen in the letters of some foreign ministers with regard to the conduct of his Majesty's Hanover ministers, not that I believed those reports to be true, but I thought it my duty to apprise your Grace of

them ; and I have lately seen in a letter of the same sort, "that Count Lynar was gone to Bremen to persuade the Landgrave of Hesse to accept a neutrality." This is indeed almost too absurd to be mentioned, nor do I give any credit to it ; such a step would be fatal to the Landgrave and ruinous to the alliance.

As to the other affair which was hinted at, your Grace will excuse me if I cannot be more plain. I am bound by the strongest tye, that of honour, not to reveal it ; but your Grace may be perfectly easy, the affair is over, it has done, and can do no harm ; it proceeded from the zeal of the Hanover ministers for the King's service ; they, therefore, deserve no mark of resentment, only for the future it may be expedient that that zeal should be exerted with his Majesty's previous approbation, and then they will be sure never to err. This is all the length[4] I can go at present, but as your Grace says that his Majesty would be glad to be informed of the facts, I will do the utmost to be released from my promise, and I hope by the next messenger to be able to give a more satisfactory account of that affair.

I have received no full power, as your Grace mentioned, but this messenger carries the full powers for the Prussian ministers at London to sign the treaty,

[4] This marks the line of distinction between those communications received by Mitchell from Frederic, which, though under the general seal of secrecy, it was understood he might transmit to his government as confidential communications, and those which he could not as a man of honour, without express permission, reveal to any one. It appears the more necessary to call attention to this distinction, because several instances will be found in these papers where Mitchell, while transmitting to his government some conversations with the King of Prussia, mentions at the same time that the King enjoined secrecy.

and I hope when your Grace has read my other letters, you will be satisfied that no time has been lost in expediting that affair.

I return your Grace my most hearty thanks for the care you are so good to promise about my election, and I shall not fail to write your Grace such anecdotes as are worth transmitting. We have been upon the very brink of ruin, and we are saved by more than one miracle.

I am sorry to trouble your Grace about pecuniary matters, but by an alteration made at the office in the bills I sent over, I am cut off from any allowance for my equipage, which cost me almost 1,100*l.* sterling, and I can with truth assure your Grace, that when all those great sums are paid, I shall not be 200*l.* richer than when I left England, such has been the expence of journeys and a dissipated way of living. I have explained this more fully in a letter to Mr. Larpent, which, if your Grace pleases to see, all may yet be rectified.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private, p.m., per Pollock.]

Dresden, 22nd November, 1758.

MY LORD,

There is no monster like that of an army without a head. If your Lordship knew what I have suffered from the 8th to the 16th, that the seige was raised, you would indeed pity me.

In my most secret cyphered letter of the 8th I gave a hint which I fear would alarm, but which was necessary; Dresden and of consequence all Saxony was upon the point of being lost by the want of harmony and the want of resolution in the generals. In the night between the 13th and 14th I was awaked no less than three times after midnight, and pressed to march with the army from this place, which I absolutely refused to do, having resolved, after what I had seen, not to stir from hence. Towards morning they determined to stay.

Your Lordship will remember, that in the representations made to your Lordship and the Duke of Newcastle about my expences, the estimate went no farther than the end of 1757, but by an alteration made in the bills I am cut off from any allowance for my field equipage (which was included in the bill for 1756) and which cost me upwards of 1000*l.* I have wrote to Mr. Larpent about this, and I beg your Lordship's assistance. I have mentioned it to the Duke of Newcastle.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Dresden, Thursday, 23rd November, 1758.

MY LORD,

Having wrote to your Lordship by the post of yesterday, I have at present very little to add. The Austrians have passed *Gishubel*, and the gros of their

army is actually now in Bohemia. I hear they have not demolished the castle of *Sonenstein*, but ruined some of the works, which are of no great importance, and they have carried off even the Saxon artillery which was in that fortress.

The raising of the siege of Dresden, and the retreat of Marshal Daun, with an army of near 40m men, upon the approach of the King of Prussia, at the head of eight bataillons infantry, two regiments cavalry, and one of hussars, affords matter of astonishment to every body. His Prussian Majesty received the news of the siege being raised soon after he had passed *Görlitz*, and immediately gave orders for the rest of his army to march into Silesia, and he advanced towards Dresden with the force I have mentioned.

It is now avowed that the Duke de Deux Ponts was to have advanced from *Freyberg*, and to offer battle to the little army of Generals Itzenplitz and Fink, whilst they occupied the camp of *Benerig* or *Alt-Franken*; at the same time Marshal Daun, who lay almost within cannon shot on the other side of Dresden, was to have cut off the communication between the camp of *Benerig* and the town, by which movement the little Prussian army would have been between two fires, and must have fought with great disadvantage. Besides, Marechal Daun could then have attacked the town in that part which is called *Zwinjer*, where it is weakest, and all this might have easily been executed on the 9th, with little or no risk, had Marshal Daun and the Duke de Deux Ponts acted with more vivacity; their slowness gave

time to Generals Itzenplitz and Fink to decamp from *Benerig* in the afternoon of the 9th, and to pass the river with their whole corps, artillery, and baggage, in the night, by which it is plain the town of Dresden was saved, for it is now allowed by every body, that if either the army of Itzenplitz had retired, or suffered Marshal Daun to cut off their communication with the town, Dresden could not have held out for more than forty-eight hours if vigourously attacked.

The other attempts upon Torgau and Leipzig have been no better conducted, and all Saxony remains still (by a sort of miracle) in the possession of the King of Prussia.

The project to drive the Prussians out of Saxony, whilst the King and his army were in Silesia, was certainly well imagined on the part of the Austrians (for what reasons the Court of Saxony adopted it I know not), and easy to have been executed, had the different commanders acted with more concert, celerity, and vigour. General Wedel did not arrive at Torgau till the 12th, and General Dohna two days later.

Upon the whole this campaign has ended most gloriously for his Prussian Majesty (notwithstanding the most unhappy 14th of October). He has not lost one inch of ground, though he has been attacked in Brandenburg, Pomerania, Saxony, and Silesia, by at least 210m men, and I cannot compute the force he had to oppose to this multitude of foes at more than 100m. But I will not tire your Lordship with reflexions, and

only beg leave to refer to the enclosed relation *de main de maitre.*

It is believed his Prussian Majesty will not stay long here, and will pass the winter at Breslaw, but of this I yet know nothing certain.

The Prussians are in possession of Freyburg and the army of the Empire continues to retire before them, and if the news be true that the Swedes were again beginning to show themselves, General Dohna will certainly either march against them, or reinforce the corps which was left under the command of General Manteuffel to look after them.

I send inclosed the journal of the siege of *Colberg,* and another printed paper which I have this moment received.

His Prussian Majesty occupies his Polish Majesty's apartment in the castle here, which is matter of speculation, for hitherto, the King of Prussia was at Count Bruhl's hotel, which has since been converted into an hospital.

The day after his Prussian Majesty arrived here, he ordered it to be notified to the Ministers of State and of Conference ; viz., Monsieur Le Comte de Rex, Monsieur Le Comte de Loos, Monsieur de Stubenberg, to leave this place in three times twenty-four hours and to repair to Warsaw. The reason given was, that the Russians had not only sent away the Prussian ministers, but even sequestered their estates. Monsieur de Schönberg, another of the ministers, is excused from this journey on account of his age and infirmities.

Monsieur Le Comte de Wacherbach, Grand Maitre, and formerly Governor to the Electoral Prince; and Monsieur Le Comte de Salmour, nephew to Wacherbach, and Chambellan to the Electoral Prince, have likewise received the same order; and Monsieur de Wetzel, who is only titulary Minister of Conference in Saxony, and actual Minister from the Elector of Bavaria to the Court of Saxony, but who holds an office in the Electoral Princess's family, is likewise ordered to go to *Warsaw* or *Munich* as he pleases.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Duke of Newcastle.

[Private, p. m., per Cleverly.]

Dresden, 11th Dec., 1758.

MY LORD,

Since I had the honour of writing to your Grace, the 20th of November, I have watched an opportunity of getting absolved from my promise;[5] and I have at last found it in the King of Prussia's indulgence, which gives me pleasure, as I am thereby enabled to satisfy your Grace's curiosity, though the affair is really now of very little importance, and, as I observed in my last letter, arose from the zeal of the Hanover ministers for what they judged to be the King's interest.

In the beginning of July last, as the army was retiring from Moravia into Bohemia, his Prussian Majesty (who permits me to ride along with him on the march,) asked

[5] See note, ante p. 466.

me if I knew anything of certain propositions lately made to his ministers at Berlin by the ministers of Hanover. I answered I knew nothing. He then told me they are of a very particular nature, and I do not wonder they have not been communicated to you.

It is proposed, added the King of Prussia, that I should guarantee, at the Peace, the cession of the Bishopricks of *Paderborn*, *Osnabruck*, *Hildesheim*, the fortress of *Vechte*, and part of the Bishoprick of Munster to be joined to the Electorate of Hanover, and this without any previous negociation appearing, for the offer was to have been made by me, and the bare act of acceptation on their part was to have been sufficient. In consideration of which it was hinted that they would desist from their pretensions on *East Friezland*.

I have ordered, says he, my ministers to answer, that if any proposal of this kind was to be made, it must be done with the concurrence of the English ministry, and he was pleased to ask me what I thought of the answer. I replied it was such as could not fail to please the King and his ministers in England, and therefore I thought it very proper to be communicated to them. His Prussian Majesty said, by no means; your ministry is not always agreed among themselves, I therefore insist you shall say nothing of it, as I would not willingly be the occasion of one moment's uneasiness to the King your master; you must give me your word of honour that you will keep the secret which I gave.

After this plain narrative of the matter of fact, I need give your Grace no reason for mentioning this affair

sooner, but it may be necessary to inform your Grace why I mentioned it at all, and the reason is this : as I know something of the humour and temper of the Prince whom I have the honour to attend, I feared that propositions of that sort, however well intended, might, if renewed in certain situations, afford a handle to weaken that alliance, which is the great object of my mission, and of my most sincere wishes.

I must intreat your Grace that this communication be kept secret, and that no mark of resentment be shown to any person whatever on account of what has passed. I shall be unhappy if anybody suffers ; I never loved making mischief, and your Grace will oblige me infinitely by exerting yourself to prevent it.

As his Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of my offering my services again in Parliament, I hope your Grace will, without loss of time, fix and secure my election by speaking to the proper persons; this presses the more, that the Earl of Kintore is lately dead. My Lord Findlater, I believe, well disposed ; but he should be spoke to. The Duchess of Gordon has freely offered me her interest without being asked ; and Sir Ludovick Grant should likewise be spoke to. My Lord Kinnoul has much to say with him.

I have been a good deal indisposed of late, but am now pretty well recovered, and shall set out for Breslaw, by the way of Berlin, in a day or two. I most heartily wish your Grace joy of the unanimity that appears in the councils of England—a most happy event, which

I pray God may continue. But, above all, I admire how your Grace has been able to raise such great sums at 3½ per cent., whilst France pays 8 and 10 per cent.; this is doing real service, and will be to the immortal honour of your administration.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

Mr. Mitchell to the Earl of Holdernesse.

[Private, p.m., per Cleverly.]

Dresden, 12th Dec., 1758.

MY LORD,

I heard with the greatest concern the accounts of your Lordship's ill state of health; my apprehensions were increased by your silence; but the letters of the 24th November have greatly releived me, and I hope the first post will bring the news of your perfect recovery.

I, too, have had my share of physical discipline, which, however, has succeeded so well, that I am able to go on. I could have wished that the journey to Breslaw had been avoidable; but as the King of Prussia desired it, I complied readily, though it may perhaps be of very little utility, especially if his Prussian Majesty should return to this place, as is confidently reported he will.

It is impossible to be in better humour with an ally than the King of Prussia is with England at present. He said lately to a person of confidence, speaking of the King and the nation, "*Il faut avouer qu'ils sont*

des honnêtes gens, ils assignent rondement at de bonne foi."

I am very sorry to observe to your Lordship that I think the King of Prussia's temper considerably ruffled, and grown more harsh since the battle of Zorndorff; to this I impute his keeping the Russian officers still at Custrin, the burning of Count Bruhl's house, &c., and the want of attention and politeness to the Royal Family here; the only civility shown them, on his part, was, the morning he went from hence, a compliment he ordered to be made by General Fink to the Prince and Princess Electoral.

As I have been an eye-witness to almost everything that has passed during this campaign, it is still matter of wonder to me that it has ended as it has done.

The King of Prussia's conduct is great, his celerity of action almost incredible; but with all that, had not his enemies been guilty of the most monstrous absurdities, we must have been in a very bad situation. All is well hitherto, but I cannot help dreading the next campaign; and I think I see in him, who knows not what fear is, an eager desire of peace, which I never observed so strong before.

I wish our successes in America may not carry us too far; all may be lost by grasping at too much; and if a decisive advantage is once gained upon the Continent, I am afraid to conjecture where it may end.

I will trouble your Lordship no farther, and I need not put you in mind not to expect any regular correspondence from me till my arrival at Breslaw.

I shall send by the next courier some Berlin almanacks, and I beg your Lordship will send me a couple of English ones, that I may know who are in or out of office.

I am, &c.,

And^R. Mitchell.

END OF VOL. I.

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